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ST LOUIS BANK NOTE COMPANY

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM S. HARNEY.

BRYAN, BRAND & CO. PUBLISHERS.

THE LIFE

AND

MILITARY SERVICES

OF

Gen. WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY.

By L. U. REAVIS,

Author of "Life of Horace Greeley," "Thoughts for the Young Men and Women of America," "St. Louis, the Future Great City of the World," several Pamphlets on the removal of the National Capital, etc.

General Harney's life and career cover a period of most intense interest in our national life; commencing before a steamboat began to navigate any of our Western rivers, he has seen the old bateaux and voyageurs give place to the splendid steamboats of the Mississippi. He performed good service in the early settlement of Louisiana, Florida and the West; took a prominent part in all the Indian Wars, as also the Mexican and Civil Wars.—*Gen. W. T. Sherman.*

INTRODUCTION BY GEN. CASSIUS M. CLAY.

SAINT LOUIS:
BRYAN, BRAND & CO., Publishers.
1878.

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1878.

SEP 10 1963

TO

EDWIN BATHURST SMITH, M. D.,

A MAN,

WHOSE SCHOLARY ATTAINMENTS AND PROFESSIONAL EMINENCE HAVE CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE CHARACTER AND ADVANCEMENT OF MEDICAL SCIENCE, BOTH IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PLACE;

A CITIZEN,

WHOSE SOCIAL VIRTUES AND EXEMPLARY LIFE HAVE WON FOR HIM PERSONAL HONORS UNUSUAL TO MEN, AND IN A MARKED DEGREE EXTENDED HIS INFLUENCE AND GIVEN STRENGTH AND CHARACTER TO OTHERS FAR BEYOND THE LIMITS OF HIS OWN HOME;

A FRIEND,

WHOSE DEVOTION IS ONLY EQUALLED BY THE GENEROSITY OF HIS CHARACTER AND WHOSE LIFE-PRACTICE HAS SHED LUSTRE UPON HIS NAME THROUGH A LONG AND USEFUL LIFE, IS

THIS VOLUME,

A FAITHFUL RECORD OF A DISTINGUISHED SOLDIER AND COTEMPORARY, RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

FROM JEFFERSON DAVIS.

MISSISSIPPI CITY, MISS., January, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., ST. LOUIS, MO.

SIR:—It gives me pleasure to comply with your request of the 30th ult., for some reminiscences in connection with my old friend, General W. S. Harney.

In the spring of 1829, I reported as Brevet Second Lieutenant to the commanding officer at Fort Winnebago. General Harney was then stationed at that post, and Captain of Company K, 1st United States Infantry. At that period of his life he was, physically, the finest specimen of a man I ever saw. Tall, straight, muscular, broad-chested and gaunt-waisted, he was one of the class which Trelawney describes as "nature's noblemen," against whom the plague in the East "never made an attack." Had he lived in the time of Homer, he would have robbed Achilles of his *soubriquet* of the "swift-footed," for he would run faster than a white man, further than an Indian, and in both showed that man was organized to be master of the beast. To elucidate the last clause of the preceding paragraph requires the recital of an anecdote. Captain Harney carefully attended to his company garden, which on the frontier was necessary for the comfort as well as the health of the men. The beds had been carefully spaded and raked, when one of his numerous dogs—a half-grown mongrel hound—came walking across the carefully prepared ground, and the Captain, storming at him in tones and in language not suited to the pulpit, frightened the dog so that instead of going out by the walk, he ran across the bed towards the gap in the fence. The Captain started in full run after the dog, which had to jump on the fence and then off it—fatal disparity to the dog, for the Captain cleared the fence at a bound, which brought him a jump nearer to the dog—and then began an even run up the long slope which led to the Fort, before reaching which, Harney mastered the dog, and "Rover" suffered in proportion to the length of the chase. Captain Harney was also a bold horseman, fond of the chase, a good boatman, and skillful in the use of the spear as a fisherman. Neither drinking nor gaming, he was clear of those rocks and shoals of life in a frontier garrison, and is no doubt indebted to this abstinence for much of the vigor he has possessed to his present advanced age. By long service on the Indian frontier, together with that practical sense which tests all theory by actual observation, he had acquired that knowledge of Indian character which was often conspicuously exhibited in his military career.

Of the incidents thus generally referred to, you have so many other sources of information that it would be needless for me to enter into detail, but I should do injustice to the subject of this letter if I did not call your attention to the project of a treaty he made with the Sioux in 1855 or '56. I think it constituted the best basis for an arrangement between the United States Government and an Indian tribe that has ever been devised, and if carried out, would impress the Indians with their responsibility, and bind them to a more faithful observance of it than ever did any of those verbose, miscalled treaties which are to be found spread over the records of the United States.

Yours respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

FROM GENERAL E. G. W. BUTLER, THE ONLY SURVIVING SCHOOLMATE OF GENERAL HARNEY.

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1520 LUCAS PLACE, Feb. 1, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., ST. LOUIS, MO.:

MY DEAR SIR:—My son, Major Lawrence Lewis Butler, has handed to me Mr. Jefferson Davis' letter to you, giving reminiscences of his old friend and military contemporary, General William Selby Harney, retired list, United States army, with the request that I, his life-long friend, would give my recollections in regard to him. I will remark that we were school-boys together; that in 1816, while under the tuition of the late Reverend Thomas Craighead, of Haysborough, Tennessee, I was appointed, at the instance of my lamented friend and guardian, Andrew Jackson, a cadet in the United States military academy; that, having graduated in 1820, and been appointed a second Lieutenant in the corps of artillery, I was assigned to the 4th regiment of artillery, at the reduction of the army in 1821; selected for ordnance duty, and ordered to Baton Rouge, where I found the 1st regiment of infantry, and, to my great joy, my devoted friend, Harney, who had been appointed to a second lieutenantcy in that regiment.

After passing four months, most pleasantly, together; partaking of the hospitalities of the then opulent sugar planters of that country, Congress having failed to make an appropriation for the erection of the arsenal at that place, I was, by the orders of Major General Gaines, restored to duty under Major James Kearney, of the Topographical Engineers, then engaged in the survey of the harbor of Pensacola; and I took leave of my valued friend. Some months afterwards, having completed our survey and being ordered to Washington, I left Pensacola at the commencement of the yellow fever, which devastated that place, and proceeded, by way of the "Hermitage," to visit my old friend and second father; was taken with the fever on my arrival there, and before I had sufficiently recovered, commenced my journey to Washington, in a stage-coach; in which, most fortunately for me, I found my good friend Harney. The fatigue and exposure, consequent upon such a journey, soon caused a return of my fever; and, though obliged to stop more than once, my devoted friend, though under orders, never deserted, but nursed me with the tenderness of a brother; and we parted at Washington, not to meet again till 1838, when, having retired from service and being a resident of Louisiana, I met him in New Orleans, on the eve of his departure for Cuba for the benefit of his health, which had been greatly impaired by his service in the everglades of Florida. I took leave of him on board the vessel which conveyed him to Cuba, and saw him no more till my arrival in this place—an interval of nearly *forty years.*

During this long interval I have watched his military career with the deepest interest, from the everglades of Florida to the wilds of Alaska, and through the far West, and no man, since the time of Andrew Jackson, has impressed the wild Indian with so much fear and so much respect.

Soon after the last Presidential election I wrote to Mr. Tilden to call his attention to the false administration of Indian affairs, which recognizes the Indian, one day, as a sovereign and independent power, and competent signer

and party to a treaty, and ignores him the next; reminded him that our highest judicial tribunal had declared the Indians to be the *wards* of the United States, with no other claim to the soil than that of *occupancy;* and urged it, therefore, as his duty to protect them; and suggested the propriety of his urging upon Congress their speedy colonization; clearly defining the boundaries of the several tribes; assigning retired officers of the army as agents thereof; and appointing General William Selby Harney as *Governor-General* of the whole. The Department of Indian Affairs should never have been separated from that of War, and, in view of the Indian's fear and respect for *military men*, and the *honesty*, kindness, and generosity which distinguish the latter, as a profession, I am convinced that, under the guardianship of the Department of War, and the protection of the army, peace would reign upon our borders, and the yell of the savage be heard no more.

In conclusion, I will remark that General Harney's education, like that of Andrew Jackson, was imperfect; but it might be said of him, as it was of the latter, "Education and habit may make a soldier and statesman; but God Almighty alone can make *a hero and an honest man.*"

Faithfully yours,

E. G. W. BUTLER.

From General N. P. Banks.

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C., Jan. 14, 1878.

MR. L. U. REAVIS, St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 9th inst., inclosing the title-page and contents of the Life of General Harney, was duly received. The biography of the country presents no more interesting or romantic history than is embodied in the career of that distinguished soldier. It would give me pleasure to contribute a letter in accordance with your request, but my duties preclude the possibility of that now. I have always had great esteem and admiration for General Harney, whom I have known for many years, and I cherish the recollection of my acquaintance with him with the highest satisfaction.

Very truly yours,

N. P. BANKS.

From General Coburn.

Indianapolis, Ind., March 23, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Sir:—I have received from you the title page and introduction of your biography of General Wm. S. Harney. I have no doubt but that you will make an interesting and valuable book out of the materials furnished by his long and conspicuous career. General Harney has occupied so many important positions upon the frontier, and taken such an active part in so many matters of great public interest that you must find him identified with much that is important in our national history. I formed General Harney's acquaintance a few years since, while I was a member of the House Military Committee, he

being summoned there, at the request of certain members, to sustain them in the position that the Indian was a treacherous, lazy, cruel and bloodthirsty foe of the whites. To the astonishment of these gentlemen, he gave the Indian a good character; said that he had been sinned against and imposed upon; that he was an observer of treaties, and, as a general rule, went into war reluctantly. He proved himself to be the friend and kind advocate of the red man, denouncing the villainies of those who cheated and wronged him. I was struck with his independence and manliness of character. In his old age he still exhibited the vigor which has resisted ten thousand hardships on the frontier.

General Harney is one of the unique, original and powerful men of our old regular army. Yours truly,

JOHN COBURN.

From General Benj. F. Butler.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 6, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Sir:—My acquaintance with General Harney was not until the latter part of his life, when he came before me in connection with Indian affairs, as a member of the Judiciary Committee. I was very much struck with the direction of his mind, the entire integrity with which it seemed he had managed the affairs intrusted to him, and that official connection ripened into a friendly intercourse, which I am sorry to say our different employments, and the great distance between our places of residence, gave little opportunity to cultivate.

Yours truly,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

From the "Globe-Democrat."

The "Life of General Harney," upon which Mr. Reavis has been engaged for some time, is almost ready for the book stores. It will be a volume full of interest, not only on account of its immediate subject, but on account of the vast quantity of historical matter which it will necessarily bring to light. Indeed, the story of General Harney's life cannot be faithfully told without laying bare the whole of the Indian question for the last half century. And so of other important matters connected with the military operations of the country up to the breaking out of the rebellion. The book will supply the "missing link" in our unwritten history between the war of 1812 and the greater war of 1861-65.

From General Beauregard.

New Orleans, March 4, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., St. Louis, Mo.:

My Dear Sir:—I am happy to learn that you are engaged in writing the life and military services of General William Selby Harney, than whom a nobler soldier and more perfect gentleman could not have been selected, whose deeds

should occupy your able and facile pen. The General commenced his military career, I may say, in this State, for shortly after his appointment to the 1st Regiment of United States Infantry, he was stationed many years in Baton Rouge and in this city, in which latter place he became soon the intimate friend of some of our worthiest citizens, whose names are State celebrities, such as Grymes, Mayensau, Soule, Rozelius, Marigny, Wm. De Buys, John L. Lewis, and others too numerous to mention.

I had the honor, while quite young, of making the acquaintance of General Harney, just before the battle of Cerro Gordo, when Captain R. E. Lee and myself, having made the reconnoissance by which Santa Anna's left flank and rear could be turned, met him at General Scott's headquarters to explain to him the topography of the country, the route he would follow and the obstacles he might expect to encounter, for he had been selected by the General-in-Chief to command the troops who were to assault the fortified crest of Cerro Gordo, defended by Santa Anna's veterans who had just returned with him from the bloody field of Buena Vista.

I remember distinctly the quiet and officer-like manner in which General Harney received our information and the facility with which he seemed to understand all we had to say on a matter of such importance to himself and command. The next morning when the attack commenced, it was truly exhilarating to see him charging, sword in hand, along the steep slope of that high hill, his tall, manly figure towering above all the gallant officers and men who surrounded him. It was a sight never to be forgotten! He was one of the first inside the enemy's works, unhurt and ready to attack the other positions on our right still held by the Mexicans. But the key of those positions being then in our possession, and the line of retreat to the City of Mexico being cut off, the Mexicans were compelled to surrender unconditionally. Santa Anna, however, had hastily mounted his horse as soon as he had noticed the fall of Cerro Gordo, and made good his escape, leaving in our hands his carriage containing an extra cork leg, his private and public papers and his baggage.

From that battle to the end of the war General Harney became the favorite of all the young officers of the army, whom he always treated with that kindness and urbanity of manners which distinguish him to this day.

Wishing you, my dear sir, success in your undertaking, I remain yours most truly,

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

PREFACE.

IN book-making, as in many other branches of industry, the American people have already demonstrated a spirit of enterprise greater than can be found in the people of older nations. The invention and improvement of the art of printing, and the diffusion of intelligence in the United States by means of a system of popular education, have unfettered the American mind, and book-making has grown to be a branch of intellectual labor of immense magnitude.

Three generations and more ago, it was a popular method to present intelligence, both in this country and Europe, through the medium of the pamphlet. Then the number of books issued from the press annually was much less, in proportion to the population, than now, and, in many instances, better. The newspapers and magazines have almost driven the pamphlet from the field of public discussion, and the greater number of those who now write, seek to present their views through the medium of a volume, as a more substantial and creditable means of discussion, outside of the newspaper and the magazine.

What changes the future may have in reserve relating to the mode of disseminating intelligence, time alone can tell. Be the changes many or few, it is to be hoped that in the literature of the future, age and experience will bring to our people that maturity and wisdom of thought which increased years alone can supply.

The present volume is not designed merely to swell the number of American books, or to gratify a personal vanity, but rather to present to the public—the American people—

a carefully gathered record of the life and military services of one of the most conspicuous of American soldiers.

A people so young as the American people could hardly be expected to present to the world examples of military chieftains and heroes equal to the most noted of those belonging to older and more warlike nations; but the patriotic American will readily challenge comparison between the citizen soldier and the educated soldier of his country, with the most noted and successful warriors of any other age or nation. And if the comparison is ever made by the analytical writer of military history, General Harney will be brought forth to compare with the greatest cavalry officers known to European warfare. His soldierly qualities have made him both a good and distinguished warrior. For more than half a century he has been a noted soldier. His eventful career began with his first commission, dated February 13, 1818. His first military services were in pursuit of some of the Lafitte band of pirates, in the swamps of Louisiana, soon after he received his commission. With this initial service began his eventful military life, which extended through the two Seminole or Florida wars, the Black Hawk and Mexican wars, on the Plains and Pacific coast. He may justly be called the military Humboldt of this country; the pioneer soldier, whose wanderings have extended over all our territory, from the everglades of Florida to the "bad lands" of Dakota, and from the city of Mexico to Puget Sound. He has ever been a remarkable man. His life has been peculiar, and his whole career teems with the thrilling deeds of one of the most eminent military heroes known to American history.

Like the German Humboldt, he has been the friend and associate of chieftains, explorers, travelers, scholars, statesmen and divines; the friend and conqueror of savage tribes, and the nation's faithful soldier.

The wilderness and the frontier were the home of General Harney for more than a generation. The lagoons of

Louisiana, the everglades of Florida, the territory lying along the Mississippi, now parcelled into rich and populous States, the plains of the great West, the Black Hills, where adventurous spirits now delve for gold, and the north-western jewel of our starry circle, distant Oregon, have each been the field of his services and his labors, and in each of those quarters is his name echoed with reverence and pride; and his labors, like those of Hercules, have been to confront and achieve victories over formidable obstructions to human progress. He has contested with wild beasts and savages the empire of civilized men over nature, and opened the way for the progress of Saxon civilization westward across the continent.

The record of a life so eventful and useful as that presented by General Harney, cannot fail to be rich in lessons of daring and heroic deeds—lessons in the highest degree worthy a place in the biographical annals of our country. It shall therefore be my purpose to present him to his countrymen as a loyal and warm-hearted chieftain, who vindicated the honor of the nation on every battle-field where duty called him, and periled his life to maintain unsullied the honor and valor of the true warrior. Such a soldier is a benefactor, and worthy to be honored by the American people.

But General Harney embodies other qualities than those of a soldier. He combines, in a high degree, the elements of true manhood, of gallantry and chivalry. We may tell that the "vows of knighthood, the ceremonials of installations, the pomp and splendor of knightly feats have gone, but the devotion of the patriot, the ardor of the warrior, the warmth of the lover, the fidelity of the friend, the loyalty and the truth of men of honor, do not sleep in the graves of Charlemagne, Roland and Bayard." These chosen attributes of human nature, indigenous to this Western land, find full and free expression in his character, and are worthy of imitation by the rising manhood of our country.

Trusting that the record herewith presented shall be judged worthy the character and fame of him whom it is designed to present to the public, and that both my hero and my record will be duly appreciated by the American people, I submit this volume in the spirit of devotion to those who have periled their lives and made themselves illustrious in the defense of my country.

L. U. R.

St. Louis, Mo., July 1st, 1878.

INTRODUCTORY.

BY HON. C. M. CLAY.

FORESTS and flowers and fruits, growth, beauty and maturity for succession, is the law of the flora. The same law rules animal life. Forms change, but the elements of things are eternal. Whether plants have in the succession of ages increased in size or not, is yet a matter of doubt; in beauty and utility of fruit they certainly have. It may be that greater heat may have been the cause of a ranker growth; then again, the finer species may have left no trace behind. The superior size and ages of ancient man may be fabulous. It may be, if otherwise, that better knowledge of the natural laws may compensate for the complexities of civilization, and man be restored to his original types. One thing is certain, there are laws which govern mind and body, and they are equally fixed and operative. The theory of the creation of the world is not essential to our happiness. No doubt that the Great First Cause is a certainty; but what of Him? All that is sure in theological enquiry is, that the unknown is to us, so far forth, unknowable. Let us hope that at some time more will be revealed to us, and then rest. All the laws of matter and mind are before us for investigation. Ignorance can never be bliss. We are governed all the same—if the laws are in conflict with our action or subjections, we are the sufferers, not they. It was not a vain aspiration of the poet: "Still let us ponder boldly; it is a base abandonment of reason to resign our right of thought, our last sole refuge—this at least shall still be mine." Let reason, tradi-

tion, and theory, and science have equal play, and victory will at last perch upon the standard of truth, and truth is but another word for the eternal laws. When the flora have perished, they are the fertilized beds of new vegetation. So man, and the family, and the nation perish, but are again renewed. We have every reason to believe that we at least progress, that something is ever saved from the wreck to aid in the new voyage. In one sense there is surely nothing new under the sun, that is, there is still mind and body. But who can say that under a better knowledge the infinite variety of capability is not increased for the better? Every one must speak for himself. For my part, I do not hesitate to say, that there is, has been, and will be progress is proved. Look at the sparse, crude, and suffering population of the savage state; and then at the vast numbers, the increased comforts and pleasures of the civilized. Cut off the lower strata, where population is ever checked by destitution, disease, and early death, and then take the upper tier of humanity, and what a vast change for the better! And what of death? When man shall live according to the law of nature, and nature's God, if it better pleases, death will have no terrors. In years it will be afar off. The parent is absorbed into the child. The aspirations, the accumulations of physical comforts, the every surroundings of the parent are merged into the child. Insensible and without pain, and without consciousness, the one stops, dies, but the other goes on, and succession is forever. The physical and mental attributes of God are the exponents of the ideas of man. At first He is known but in storms and lightning and disease and death. Hideous! But as science proves that storms cleanse the air, lightning is the element perhaps of vitality, and that disease and death are not unmixed evils—then God begins to be *Benevolent*. He will at last no doubt become "*Altogether Lovely!*" Then shall we be so likewise. The struggle between good and evil may never cease, but victory

will more and more rest upon the standard of virtue. Let us be ever mindful that we are of earth and spirit, body and mind, and keep up the just equilibrium. It is not at all desirable that any one should be pre-eminent for self-sake, in any mental or physical phase of being. The great brain, the pioneer in thoughts, is more to be pitied than envied. Mankind may profit by such, but they are themselves the victims of science or action. In pursuit of one law they too often violate the rest. The ditch is filled about the fortifications with the fallen; the walls are scaled; the banners of the victors are floated on high; but alas! for the useful dead, who respond no more to these triumphs, forever! Then must there be harmony in man's development, mental and physical, and there rests the secret of happiness. The differences between men and women are as wide as the heavens and the earth, yet one mingles imperceptibly with the other. Of all pitiable things, the most melancholy is the "strong-minded woman." Heaven is the ideal of all possible enjoyment; hell of all that can be suffered in nature. The sum of all aspiration, or the highest aspiration — the "To Kalon" — the "Summum Bonum"—the flower of the tree of the beautiful, is woman. In this central ideal or real, is accumulated all that is possible, and all that is imaginable. But unsex her, and she is the positive electricity no more, but at once repulsive—the negative pole. Here there must be neither the seclusion, and consequent mental abatement of the far East, nor the dangerous freedom of the far West, but that "juste milieu" which is safest in all nature's work. Let us then develop the self, the family, and the State. Nor let us worship far-off heroes. That which is gone is for us no more, but rather that which is and that which is to come. The men who have lived near us and for us, let them be our gods. W. S. Harney is one of these—such men as the divine Shakespeare has set before us—every way developed in body, in beauty, which is its highest attribute, in strength

in health, in tenacity and endurance; In mind, in heroic courage, in sagacity, in rapid combination and quick action, in the virtues which belong to the family, the patriotic ardor and self-sacrifice, which are the dues of the State. No vain aspirations, no idle repinings, no ignoble inertness, no limping achievements, but a live, sound, harmonious being in mind and body, whom men and women love, and are the better for the loving. When I hear of the views of some of our political Generals, who have lost in the cabinet all they won in the field, I am reminded of Burns and his cotemporaries. Burns, the child of nature, true in sentiment, the peasant in place, but god-like in conception, yet lives in the affections, and grows with the increased admiration of the ages; but they, his scoffers, where are they now? Evanishing ever, and at last forgot. These small fighters affect small speeches. "Napoleon and Cromwell spoke little!" Indeed! But that little was much! Harney's defence of the Union cause and the "old flag" will live in history as the most intellectual and the most eloquent of those times, next to the immortal Lincoln. Rest, then, brave heart, secure in the love and confidence of those who shall reap the fruits of your long and painful sowings. As fierce were the flashes of your trenchant blade in ascending life, so gently lengthening be the shadows of thy decline. You lived for the nation, so let thy living be merged into the life of the people you loved so well, and be immortal with themselves.

C. M. CLAY.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT. 21

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL HARNEY'S YOUTH.

Place and date of birth—Condition of society—Nashville and the Hermitage—Incidents of early life—Davy Crockett, Jackson, Benton—Sam Houston and his romantic history—General Harney's mother—A woman after the old Roman model—How she moulded bullets to shoot the red skins—Tragic career of General Harney's brother—Harney receives his commission and enters the army. . . . 35

CHAPTER II.

LIEUTENANT HARNEY AND THE PIRATE LAFITTE.

Young Harney joins his regiment—Some account of the Lafittes—How they saved the day at the battle of New Orleans—The bold buccaneers on sea and land—Lieutenant Harney goes on an expedition after the pirates—And captures two of their vessels and a large amount of booty—Bars of iron loaded with quicksilver—Sufferings of the party during the expedition—Harney is ordered to Boston on recruiting service—The first Florida war—How "Old Hickory" disposed of some troublesome customers. 45

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION TO THE YELLOWSTONE.

Young Harney visits St. Louis for the first time—St. Louis and Jefferson Barracks in 1824—Some memories of Carondelet and Bellefontaine—A trip up the Missouri in keel-boats—Major O'Fallon and the Indian—Harney saves the expedition from massacre—A foot race—Almost a merchant. 59

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

What caused the war—Harney at Fort Winnebaga—He meets Jeff. Davis—Anecdote of the unruly dog—A race and a ducking—Active movements against Black Hawk and his warriors—massacre of Major Stillman and his party—The battle of Bad Ax and capture of Black Hawk—Harney's introduction to Abe Lincoln and Zachary Taylor 72

CHAPTER V.

SECOND FLORIDA WAR.

Description of Florida—The Spanish conquest—Indian troubles—Harney is promoted and takes a prominent part in the war—Scouting and fighting—Official reports of battles—Discreditable conduct of Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War. 92

CHAPTER VI.

THE FLORIDA WAR CONTINUED.

Treachery of Osceola—A decisive battle—Defeat of the Indians—Death of Osceola—A description of his character and appearance—Colonel Harney's perilous campaign in the swamps and everglades—An ambush from which the Colonel makes a narrow escape—Capture of Chaikika's band—Harney uses a rope to good purpose—Treaty with the Indians and close of the war. 119

CHAPTER VII.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

Review of the Texas question—Sam Houston and the battle of San Jacinto—Trouble with the United States—Taylor and his brilliant victories—Colonel Harney is promoted and assigned to important duties . . 149

CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTT AND HARNEY.

The Commander-in-Chief becomes jealous of the dashing Colonel of dragoons—The origin of the trouble—Cutting letters between Taylor and Scott—Harney relieved of his command—Refuses to obey and is tried by court-martial—The Secretary of War rebukes Scott and commends Harney—A lively chapter, full of revelations. . . . 162

CHAPTER IX.

THE MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

Colonel Harney restored to his command and ordered to serve under Scott—A dangerous adventure in the Gulf of Mexico—Capture of Vera Cruz—Harney disobeys orders again and wins a brilliant victory at Madellin—General Scott highly commends the gallant Colonel. . . 181

CHAPTER X.

THE MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

Colonel Harney and his dragoons find work to do in reconnoitering the enemy's position—Brilliant charge at Cerro Gordo—Graphic description of this great event—A gallant Mexican officer—Colonel Harney is promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. 194

CHAPTER XI.

THE MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

Marching into the enemy's country—Friendly meeting between Scott and Harney—Battles around the City of Mexico—General Harney's brilliant charge at Contreras—An unpleasant duty performed—Perilous adventure of an American officer—Capture of the City of Mexico—Harney's summary disposal of some rascals—Peace declared, and Harney ordered to Washington with dispatches—Popular demonstrations of admiration on the route. 225

CHAPTER XII.

THE SIOUX EXPEDITION.

General Harney visits his family in Paris—But receives orders to return and take command of an expedition against the Sioux Indians—Causes of the Indian war—Harney advances into the Indian country and wins the battle of Ash Hollow—Graphic report of the fight—Council and treaty with the savages—More service in Florida . . . 246

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KANSAS TROUBLES.

The slavery question—Serious difficulties in Kansas—General Harney ordered to take command of the troops and preserve the peace—His vigorous measures soon restore quiet—Takes command of the expedition against the Mormons—He proposes to hang Brigham Young and his apostles and permanently settle the Mormon question—These measures considered too vigorous, and he is succeeded by General Johnston and ordered to Oregon. 268

CHAPTER XIV.

SERVICE IN OREGON.

Father DeSmet selected to negotiate with the Indians—Happy results of his benevolent influence—Description of the Oregon Indians—Insubordination of Lieutenant Sill—General Scott's unauthorized interference—A lively correspondence between the two Generals. - - 280

CHAPTER XV.

THE SAN JUAN TROUBLES EXPLAINED

Description of the Island of San Juan—Trouble with the English—Threats of war—General Harney takes possession of the Island—Full account of this important affair in our national history, with official correspondence, etc. 315

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CIVIL WAR.

Election of Lincoln and commencement of the strife—General Harney placed in command at St. Louis—Is captured at Harper's Ferry while on his way to Washington, and conveyed to Richmond as a prisoner of war—Is released and returns to his command—The Camp Jackson affair—The Price-Harney agreement—Intrigues for the removal of General Harney—The Blair family—Interesting correspondence—A characteristic letter from President Lincoln—Harney is placed upon the retired list, and Lyon assume command of the department—An able letter from General Harney vindicating his loyalty and patriotism . . 347

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

Description of the religious and social customs of the Indian, with an account of General Harney's campaigns against them. . . . 394

CHAPTER XVIII.

RECOLLECTIONS, INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES. 450

LIFE OF GENERAL HARNEY.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

THE discovery, exploration and settlement of America opened a new field for human progress and civilization to the world, a theater for development more ample and fruitful than had ever been opened to the human race. Civilization, originating in the East, had reached only a certain point, where it stopped, and where it has stood for thousands of ages. It stands now in China and Hindostan where it stood in the age of Confucius and Buddha, and where it will ever stand among the Mongolian races. The Caucasians, who colonized Greece and Italy, and subsequently Spain, Gaul and Britain, and have alone in Europe shown an aptitude for the higher and more exalted civilization which was the result of the conquests of their arts and their arms, have developed in the New World a nation at once the pride and wonder of mankind.

The agencies which, in the hands of Him who prescribes the destinies of nations, have wrought their wonders on this continent in the last four centuries, are deserving of serious consideration. They furnish for the contemplative student of history a study worthy of his earnest attention. The struggle in Europe between the barbarians and the effete

and effeminate Roman emperors threatened to destroy the learning, arts and civilization of the world, when Christianity came to their aid and offered a safe asylum among the religious custodians of her monasteries, where, in the dark ages, learning was not only preserved but progressed, and virtue, becoming her constant associate, conquered in her turn the rude warriors who would have destroyed her, by converting them to the mild and just tenets of divine teaching, and to the arts and pursuits of peace. From these sacred retreats, where learning and civilization found a safe sanctuary from the Goth, the Vandal, the Hun and the Saracen, came forth science and art, which improved navigation by the invention of the mariner's compass; and with religion and science there came forth and was developed the restless, aggressive but peaceful genius of commerce. Under the ægis of commerce, aided by the appliances of art, frail ships ventured into the broad ocean, and found paths in the trackless and unknown tide. The Genoese navigator pushed boldly forth and sailed due westward to find a new route to the Indies, which lay twelve thousand miles to the east. On his way he found a new and unknown land. Vasco di Gama found a new path likewise to the east, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. These bold discoverers were soon followed by bold and restless adventurers. The sails of their argosies and galleons whitened the waters of unknown seas and startled the simple natives of hitherto unknown continents.

With the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, the star of civilization moved westward, and to progress was opened a new field, where, with young and fresh life, on a virgin and unexplored continent, was to be developed a new phase of enlightenment, a new asylum for learning and science, and, more than all, a constellation of States where human liberty, civil and religious, has been destined to exist, trammelled by no restrictions short of the borders of license and intolerance. Slow and painful were the first

conquests of the hardy emigrants who settled on the shores of North America. Inhospitable climates were to be confronted, forests were to be leveled, and the hardy and wild savage to be overcome. The Swedes of New York, the Puritans of New England, the Swiss and Huguenots of the Carolinas, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Colonists of Lord Baltimore and Oglethorpe in Maryland and Georgia, with the early cavaliers of Virginia, struggled for over a hundred and fifty years before civilization began to pass the Appalachian chain, and fixed a home out of sight of the Atlantic. The hardy Jesuit and Franciscan missionary, or the lone and solitary hunter, almost as much a nomad as the Indian natives, had barely traversed the trackless forests and made a few discoveries with which to enrich the meager geography of the time. The Father of Waters, discovered by Father Marquette in 1673, had been for nearly two centuries unknown and unseen of Europeans, except to the hardy followers of De Soto, who crossed it in 1541, seeking the gold fields of the Western Sierras.

Slow was the progress of the settlements in America, up to the time of the revolt of the thirteen English colonies against the mother country. Their hardships and labors had educated them to self-reliance, energy and courage, and to a love of liberty and independence which has been the deep and well laid foundation of that national greatness which has crowned their autonomy in later years. During this period the necessity for making bread and repelling the attacks of hostile Indians was greater than the claims of science or the curiosity for discovery. Nevertheless, Franklin had demonstrated by his experiments in electricity, that the winged lightening of the heavens could be tamed and controlled, from which has since been invented the electric telegraph and the telephone. The first is now indispensable to the most ordinary transactions of life, and has been brought into vogue only within the last generation. The energy, self-reliance and independence of the American race, not

only developed into the statesmanship which brought about a revolution, and a final separation from, and independence of the mother country, but it prepared a people, who for a century and a half had governed themselves without aid from the mother country, for a further self-government, which for more than a century has enabled them to accomplish the American Republic.

In 1776, the population of the thirteen colonies did not exceed three millions. They were all east of the Alleghanies and on the Atlantic seaboard. A few skirmishes and battles, notable among them Braddock's defeat, had occurred on the neutral ground and against the French and Indians near Fort Du Quesne. But before the Revolution, few English settlements had extended west of the Alleghanies. Daniel Boone, a North Carolinian, of whom Lord Byron said:

> Of all men, saving Sylla the manslayer,
> Who passes for in life and death most lucky;
> Of the great names which in our faces stare,
> The General Boone, backwoodsman of Kentucky,
> Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere:
> For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
> Enjoy'd the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
> Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze.
>
> Crime came not near him—she is not the child
> Of solitude; Health shrank not from him—for
> Her home is in the rarely trodden wild,
> Where if men seek her not, and death be more
> Their choice than life, forgive them, as beguiled
> By habit to what their own hearts abhor—
> In cities caged. The present case in point I
> Cite is, that Boone lived hunting up to ninety;
>
> And, what's still stranger, left behind a name
> For which men vainly decimate the throng,
> Not only famous, but of that *good* fame
> Without which glory's but a tavern song—
> Simple, serene, the antipodes of shame,
> Which hate nor envy e'er could tinge with wrong:
> An active hermit, even in age the child
> Of nature, or the Man of Ross run wild.

'Tis true he shrank from men, even of his nation:
When they built up unto his darling trees,
He moved some hundred miles off, for a station
Where there were fewer houses and more ease.
The inconvenience of civilization
Is, that you neither can be pleased nor please;
But where he met the individual man,
He show'd himself as kind as mortal can.

He was not all alone; around him grew
A sylvan tribe of children of the chase,
Whose young, unwaken'd world was ever new:
Nor sword nor sorrow yet had left a trace
On her unwrinkled brow, nor could you view
A frown on nature's or on human face;
The free-born forest found and kept them free,
And fresh as is a torrent or a tree.

And tall, and strong, and swift of foot were they,
Beyond the dwarfing city's pale abortions,
Because their thoughts had never been the prey
Of care or gain: the green woods were their portions.
No sinking spirits told them they grew grey;
No fashion made them apes of her distortions:
Simple they were, not savage; and their rifles,
Though very true, were not yet used for trifles.

Motion was in their days, rest in their slumbers,
And cheerfulness the handmaid of their toil;
Nor yet too many nor too few their numbers;
Corruption could not make their hearts her soil;
The lust which stings, the splendor which encumbers,
With the free foresters divide no spoil:
Serene, not sullen, were the solitudes
Of this unsighing people of the woods,

Had in his wild and solitary rambles, penetrated into Kentucky, and had found it abundant in game and of rich soil. The State of Tennessee at that time was a domain, belonging to a private monopoly. For these territories were unknown land; except a few hunters and occasional forted settlements with few families, there were no settlements in these now flourishing States. Outside of these, the French had a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi River, first

made at *Isle aux Vaisseaux*, or Ship Island, and then made at New Orleans for the sake of health, and beyond these till the Spanish settlements in Florida, Mexico and Texas were reached; the French out-post at Fort Chartres and St. Louis, a few settlements around it at *Vide Poche* and St. Ferdinand, and others then belonging to France, and the Post of Arkansas, there were none of the present United States west of the Appalachian chain. This chain of American settlements, confined substantially to the narrow slope of the Atlantic seaboard, was the germ of the great nation now called the United States. But the hardihood and privations of nearly two centuries had trained and educated the people of this slope to a fitness for the autonomy which was to devolve on them and their descendants. Nothing was known of the vast region beyond and to the Pacific shore, except such rumors or reports as came from the nomadic hunters and traders who had strayed off into the interminable forests and plains of the Great West.

After the struggle for independence, and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, three new States were added to the original thirteen, to-wit: Kentucky, by act of Congress February 4th, 1791; Vermont, by act of February 18th, 1791, and Tennessee, by act of June 1st, 1796. Only two States lay west of the Alleghanies. They were inhabited by the earlier pioneers, whose enterprising and heroic spirit had led them beyond the Appalaches. That heroic spirit had in every age of the world characterized the early pioneers of every country. Hence in ancient times, the ancestors of every heroic race and nation were esteemed gods and demi-gods. Hercules was a hero whose prowess was so far beyond his descendants' conception, that he was deified. The Nemean forest where he cut the club with which he slew the lion, gave its name to the games ever afterwards celebrated in his honor. The princes and aristocracy of the Grecian States traced their pedigree to him, and called themselves the Heraclidæ. The virtues of

the sturdy races in the earlier European civilization, who were pioneers beyond the cis-Adriatic, and the cis-Mediterranean, in the cis-Alpine and cis-Pyrenean and regions this side the Pillars of Hercules, were ever celebrated in the songs of the nations which sprang from them, and which revered, honored and emulated them. These virtues were the result of the simplicity of their lives, the constant presence of danger, and the sagacity, intrepidity and self-reliance which its presence and the necessity of supplying daily wants always gives. This, which we might call the normal state of society in the hunter and shepherd man, always involved the survival of the fittest, and from the fittest essentially a race of heroes. Unacquainted with the enervating influences of luxury and vice, the manly virtues of courage with which is always mixed magnanimity and hospitality, were developed. Their descendants became, as civilization in its progress westward multiplied, superior to their effete ancestors, from whom each in seeking the communion of nature rather than man, "when they built up into his darling trees," moved on where he found "less people and more ease."

This phase of American society translated to the regions west of the Alleghanies the young life and vigor of the Atlantic slope. There came to Kentucky a young man, Henry Clay, who impressed the country with his genius, statesmanship and unrivalled eloquence; senates hung upon his lips, and nations listened to the tones of his oratory. Then came Audubon, who lived in the forests and wrote the autobiography of the birds. From the Carolinas came Gen. Andrew Jackson, who was distinguished alike as jurist, soldier, magistrate and statesman. The two new States which alone existed west of the Alleghanies at the beginning of the nineteenth century, nurtured and produced Benton and Lincoln, Andrew Johnson and Sam Houston. With few facilities for education in the way of schools, the primitive forest produced scholars, statesmen,

naturalists, scientists and geographers. They illustrated the natural aptitude of the American for war, not of conquest, but war for the preservation of peace and the law and order requisite for the well-being of society; war which enriched science with the fruits of explorations and opened the avenues of commerce and trade. The sturdy Kentuckians followed George Rodgers Clark into the Northwestern Territory where he defeated the Indians at Vincennes; and many hard-fought and bloody scenes were enacted on the dark and bloody ground, under the pioneer soldiers, who were necessitated to defend their plow-shares with the sword and rifle. With this aptitude for war, a war in which both the spear and the pruning hook, the sword and plow-share, were intermingled, there was developed in the American pioneer and squatter, a patriotism which was compounded of love of country and fearless love of justice. These two virtues combined gave to the American citizen-soldier a capacity for self-government, and placed his nation above all peoples in the sublime autonomy which in the last three-quarters of a century has been illustrated in the most trying ordeals a country was ever exposed to, and has placed America in the first rank of all nations. The autonomy of America has been demonstrated not alone in times of peril and conflict, but in that more dangerous phase of national life, *in peace*, the peace which immediately succeeds internecine, devastating and bloody war. The question of battles between skilled captains is often, as Napoleon said, solely dependent on the weight of the artillery. The question of peace after a long and desolating war, is more trying to the autonomy of a people than the determination of bloody battles. Nothing else than the inherent love of order, respect for law, and the vigorous patriotism and love of justice engendered by the early lessons of the pioneers, could have carried the United States through the perils of "*reconstruction*"—greater perils than the five preceding years of battles and bloodshed

that had only made reconstruction possible but not necessarily probable.

At the beginning of this century the railroad, the telegraph and the steamboat were unknown, the most painful journeys were necessary in traversing the wildernesses, and the means of inter-communication were slow; and the settlements west of the Alleghanies, deriving but little protection from the sparse and meagre army, were compelled to vigilance and organization necessary to their own protection. It was in this phase of society, and in the newest of the States, in the first year of this eventful century, seventy-eight years of which have passed away, that General WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY was born. The scope of his life has compassed in three-quarters of a century the most remarkable events of our American history. The population has increased from three millions to forty-five millions. At the time of his birth all the great West from Florida to the Great Lakes, the Great Valley of the Mississippi, the Valley of the Missouri, and all the then Louisiana, was the property of Spain and France. Texas, with an undefined eastern boundary, was a part of Mexico and continued so till 1836. Florida was not purchased until after the war of 1812, and Mr. Jefferson had only said in 1801 that no foreign power could own the port of New Orleans without being "the natural enemy of the United States." In short, outside of the new States of Kentucky and Tennessee, west of the Alleghanies, the United States hardly extended west of those mountains. All the great West, including now the major part in population, wealth and importance of our nation, was unknown except by dim tradition. France owned Louisiana, which Mr. Jefferson had the sagacity to purchase in 1803. The Northwest Territory, which now includes Ohio, Indiana, a part of Illinois and all the States between the Ohio River and the great lakes, belonged to the great State of Virginia, which ceded them to the United States, upon

only one condition, to-wit: *that "Slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime after due conviction, should never be tolerated in them."*

It was not till after the purchase of Louisiana, that St. Louis became a part of the United States. It was not till 1804-6 that Merriwether Lewis and William Clark made their expedition to the Pacific Coast. The route to the Pacific lay across trackless forests and sterile plains. The desert—called the "Great American" in the earlier geographies—inhabited like Central Africa only with nomadic hordes of wild buffalo and wilder savages, lay between the French settlements of Saint Louis, Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia and the Rocky Mountains. California was then a province of Spain and part of Mexico. The almost undescribed, unknown and supposed unknowable slope of the watershed of the Cordilleras to the west, on the Columbia in Oregon, was the object of their research. Wild tribes of savages, unknown except to the intrepid Missionaries of the Jesuit and Franciscan fathers, who had carried the cross and the gospel to the sons of the forest, were the only human inhabitants of the greater portion of now more than three-fourths of the United States. Flatboats and keels, more often canoes, were the only means of the navigation of the great rivers which have since been plowed by the proud steamer. The forest and prairies were trackless and innocent of road or path, except where the wild natives or the practiced woodman steered by the bark of the forest trees, or the sunflower of the prairie, Nature indicating by her deciduous or other plants, to their practiced eyes, the cardinal points of the compass.

The great mines of precious metals were unknown. De Soto and his followers had heard of them in 1541, and had even penetrated to the sources of the Arkansas, to the Parks and Pike's Peak, and studied the watershed of the eastern slope of the Sierras, where Gilpin, three centuries

afterward, verified the statements of the Portuguese gentleman and Garcillasso. The mines of California were unheard of, and the placers of Oregon, Montana and Dakota were undreamed of.

It was not till three years after his birth that Lewis and Clark, as we have said, passed through the American desert, which is now blossoming as the rose. It was several more years before Captain Bonneville spent two years in captivity among the Nomadic Indians, and returned like "the dead come to life," to give the world an account of his journeyings, which employed the pen of Washington Irving, and in which truth is shown to be stranger than fiction. The city of St. Louis was a French village where the fur trader and voyageur exchanged the products of their traps and hunts for the necessary commodities to subsist upon and defend them in their solitary season in the remote and unpeopled forest. There was no money in St. Louis except the Spanish dollars paid to the garrison of sixteen men once a year, and the currency, as related by M. Perrin Du Lac, who visited the upper French settlements in 1803, was deer skins and peltries. The records and archives of our city show that judicial sales at this early day took place on Sundays, in front of the only Roman Catholic church, just after high mass, and as the congregation of worshippers passed out, and after due proclamation made for three successive Sundays. The specific manner of payment was not in money, but in shaved deer skins or their equivalent in other peltries. The pirogue, or the flatboat, was the only craft with which the waters of the Mississippi and its tributaries were navigated. The railroad had not even been dreamed of, for the first one was only built in the United States in 1831. Fulton had only made a trial trip of his steamboat on the Hudson; and Whitney was dreaming only, if thought of at all, of the cotton gin which gave his country a monopoly of the supply of that fibre with which the world is now clothed.

The life of General Harney compasses the period of the progress of the larger half of the Western Continent from the most feeble infancy to its present young manhood. Entering the army at eighteen years of age, his career as a soldier began in his youth, and in the youth of the nation he has so well, so honorably, and so patriotically served. The life of a soldier demands the perfection of manhood, physical, mental and moral. It is a life of discipline and trial; a life of honor and duty which demands all the higher and nobler virtues, patriotism, courage—moral and physical—truth, integrity and unflinching honesty. It is a life that foregoes the sordid aims of petty ambition, and develops into the

"Big thoughts that make ambition virtue."

It exists outside the sphere of paltry commerce, and in the atmosphere of honor. Honor won and wooed in peril and privation; honor at the price of self-denial and hardship; honor that is cold to the fascinations of vulgar profit, and insensible to all but the call of humanity, charity and duty; honor ever magnanimous, because ever brave; ever generous, because ever just; honor more precious than all gems, and above all price.

This biography covers a space in our national life which can alone be preserved by the cotemporary biographer, but to which a just and impartial posterity can only do justice and appreciate.

Montesquieu, in his celebrated treatise on the *Grandeur des Romains*, maintains that those governments which are purely military or purely commercial, are less lasting and prosperous than those which are of a mixed character, combining the excellences of the arts of peace with the highest perfection of the art of war; that acquisitions to be permanent must be made through the industry of production and traffic; but that the office of the soldier is the bulwark of the nation, and defender of its liberties

and rights as well as commerce. Gibbon, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," attributes to the Emperor Gratian, whose indolence and luxury introduced themselves into the armies in Gaul, so that the soldiers were impatient of the burden and weight of their armor, the unenviable distinction of having hastened and precipitated the ruin of his country, by relaxing discipline, which immediately made his soldiers pusillanimous and inefficient before the sturdy marauders, the Goths, the Huns and the Northern hordes. The army of the United States has produced the finest specimens of manhood, physical, moral and mental. The high standard of honor and integrity, and the *esprit du corps* of the professional and educated soldier, place him first in rank and importance of citizens, so that the life of one who has sustained his country's colors for more than sixty years, is of importance for example to the rising generation.

The life labors of Gen. Harney almost partake of those of a warm-hearted and zealous patriarch. His service on the frontier in Florida, and on the upper waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers, and upon the Pacific slope, has been one constant labor to remove impediments to the westward march of American civilization across the continent.

At his birth our national population numbered but little more than 5,000,000; he has seen it grow to more than 40,000,000. At his birth sixteen States belonged to the Federal family; he has seen the number increase to thirty-eight.

He has seen eleven Roman lustra pass away since he stepped upon the stage of action. Impelled by an all-powerful spirit of conquest, he has seen the wilderness and savageism yield to the march of skill, refinement, and power across the continent. He has seen the red man of the wilderness, the children of the kingdom of Hiawatha, strike their tents and depart for happier hunting grounds, that

lay toward the setting sun. Wonderful was the panorama of history that slowly, majestically and irresistibly moved along the years that have measured away his life. The old war chiefs of his youth and of his manhood are all gone, and the melancholy story of the Indian maiden remains to be typified in the still more ancient story of the daughters of Israel, "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion, we hung our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof."

General Harney has seen the wigwam of the Indian, in the wilderness, give place to the log cabin of the pioneer, on the frontier, and in turn he has seen the log cabin give place to the stately mansion of the farmer, the artisan, the merchant and the teacher. His history is, therefore, the history of the steady, solemn march of the Indians from the beginning of the present century to the abolition of American slavery, from the active wild scenes of life to the written pages of by-gone history.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL HARNEY'S YOUTH.

THE Commonwealth of Tennessee, the youngest of the States of the Union at the beginning of this century, was the birth-place of GENERAL WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY. He was born at Haysborough, in Davidson county, near Nashville, August 22nd, 1800. It was at a time when the State was in its infancy, but even at that early day giving good promise of its later destiny. This frontier State had attracted to its then native wilds some of the ablest, most daring and patriotic spirits of the older States, and who have since given lustre to American history, in war and in peace, in statesmanship and learning, in commerce and industry, in virtue and patriotism. The stirring scenes of the Revolutionary war had, in the seven years before the treaty of peace, habituated the hardy youth and sterling manhood of the patriot soldier to scenes of danger and habits of self-reliance; to patience in disaster and endurance of privation. Lying midway between the sparse trans-Alleghany settlements on the upper waters of the Ohio, and the French settlements at New Orleans, it was a place of transit for the hardy flat and keel boatmen who descended but could not ascend the beautiful Ohio and the Father of Waters in their clumsy craft, and who must perforce return by painful journeys overland through the *Wilderness*, as it was then called. This wilderness was infested by tribes of savage aborigines and some times the more savage white outlaw. If the caves and forests on either side of the river were infested by river pirates, the harpies and others, the land was equally infested with land robbers to rob and murder the early trader and voyageur, when,

laden with the proceeds of his trip, he wended his painful way homeward. Nashville, at that time, was an out-post of civilization. It was a city of refuge and hospitality, furnishing a secure asylum for the weary traveler returning to his home in Kentucky, or to the headwaters of the Ohio, where he might rest in security and recruit his strength for the yet long and painful journey before him. Few who travel through this enterprising and populous State, at the present day so prosperous in art and agriculture, so full of refined elegance, and enjoying so large a portion of the benefits of commerce and civilization;—few who visit this now beautiful city with its elegant buildings, its institutions of learning, its cultivated and wealthy population, still hospitable, chivalrous and refined,—can realize that within the space of one life, the commonwealth has grown from a frontier to an empire, and that Nashville has, from a village, developed into one of the most beautiful capitals of the South.

The Hermitage was near the place of young Harney's birth when Judge, afterwards General and President Andrew Jackson established his abode there. A man of nature and of the people, General Jackson proved to be the man who was endowed by nature with the highest qualities of mind and soul. He combined in himself the advocate, judge, soldier and magistrate, fated and fitted to be a ruler in times of political trial,—to serve and save his country in the cabinet, as well as to defend it in the field.

Attracted to this out-post of civilization, many ex-officers of the Revolution came with their families and slaves. The hardy emigrants were accompanied and followed by adventurous and ambitious young men who learned, in a rough and chivalrous school, what books and effete habits of older civilizations could never have taught them. Thomas H. Benton, afterwards Senator from Missouri for thirty years, with his brother Jesse, settled at Nashville; and many names since illustrious in parliamentary and military history

Andrew Jackson

were the pioneers of the primitive State along with the ancestors of General Harney.

It was a phase of human society reminding one of what the ancients called the "AGE OF GOLD," which, even in this early day, seems to us almost fabulous. There are few living, and at an early day in the future there will be none, who personally remember the simple yet just, truthful, honest and brave habits of the early pioneer. It will be due to Bingham's painting of the "*Jolly Flatboatmen*," perhaps, that posterity will know the personal habits of the early navigators of our inland waters. It will be to the books of Timothy Flint, and other unpretentious authors, that the next generation will be indebted for a knowledge of the habits and character of the early squatter, signalized by rough but honest manhood and distinguished by sagacity, wit and intelligence—learning, the learning of nature and experience. Davy Crockett, the child of the frontier, the hunter and squatter, the simple-minded wag, whose humor has traditionally delighted two generations; whose wisdom and ability, while homely, were characterized by a depth of practical knowledge and sound sense, that sustained him in reputation and respect, as a member of Congress, in the most polished era of our Congressional history, was a representative man of the early Tennesseeans; while Boone and Harrod were alike products of the earlier Commonwealth of Kentucky. It was Crockett, who, like Boone, had "moved off to where there were fewer neighbors and more ease," who closed his honest and eventful career at the Alamo, winning the independence of Texas. He was fighting under the orders of his old friend, Sam Houston, of Tennessee, ex-Senator of the United States, like himself a child of nature and the forest, and one of the hardy pioneers.

Their habits were formed in the camp and in the forests; and their sense of justice was never blunted by those habits of guile which the complex relations of purely commer-

cial communities engender. They were sensitive to insult, and summary in their manner of settlement of all quarrels. The duello was a code recognized among them, and to which they often resorted; a code not recognized by the law, but seldom punished by the civil authorities, so strong was the influence of public opinion. An instance of this is shown in the hospitable treatment of Aaron Burr, who visited Nashville in 1804, after his fatal duel with Hamilton. An outlaw from society in his own State, he became the pet and hero of the Nashville world. The learned editor of *Froissard's Chronicles*, in his preliminary essay, says the duello, in the age of chivalry, was the foundation and source of the amenities and courtesies of modern Europe. The certainty of personal responsibility for wrong by word or deed closed the lips of the slanderer in social intercourse, and checked the impulse of dishonesty in business transactions. It is perhaps due to this that the chivalrous courtesy of the South and high-bred respect for woman and the weak and unfortunate still characterize the descendants of the early squatters of that region.

It would be hard to note all the distinguished men and women who were the early settlers of the Commonwealth of Tennessee cotemporary with the times we are describing, and of those who, like General Harney, are descended from them. First among the remarkable women, we should mention Rachel, the wife of General Andrew Jackson, of whom the rare virtues, domestic and public, displayed in a life, not without its clouds of sorrow and adversities, always rose with the occasion, and even retained of that stern, severe, just, honest and brave man, the meed of esteem and affection, and after her death, the continued reverence of her memory. There was Mrs. Yeatman, the wife of the late Hon. John Bell, whom she married for her second husband, but who in her early widowhood displayed a capacity for business, which in those early times was demanded by the exigencies of her situation, managing

her deceased husband's affairs as a banker, with a sagacity peculiarly masculine, at the same time performing the maternal affairs of the true woman and mother.

General Harney's father, whose name was Thomas, was born in Maryland. He was a Revolutionary soldier and of English descent, having sprung from a Bedfordshire family. He was a Major in the Revolutionary war, which title he bore till his death, and was a man of unusual personal excellence. His character, the outgrowth of a strong individuality, was conspicuous in the community where he lived, and his influence was felt in every effort to mold society and build up institutions for the public good. A single incident which contributes to his public worth is told of him as a part of his efficient service in the Revolutionary war. When the American forces had arrived at Princeton Ford, where the British were in camp on the other side, they soon learned there was no way to cross the stream and steal upon the enemy, who were, as they supposed, securely quartered. Comprehending the situation in a moment, Major Harney requested a comrade to go with him, and together they swam the river, took the enemy's boats and returned to their own camp, with the means of transportation across the river. The American soldiers embarked and were soon landed on the opposite side of the stream, some distance below, and without loss of time surprised the enemy whom they defeated and captured.

Though possessed of traits of strong individuality, he was not ambitious or presuming in his relations and conduct with his fellows. For, though often called upon to band together with the early settlers for protection against the Indians, and often compelled to fight them, Major Harney would never accept an official position, however strongly solicited, but would readily go into the ranks and peril his life with his neighbors.

Haysborough, where Major Harney settled and lived in Tennessee, was, up to the time of the Major's death, the

rival of Nashville. Upon the death of the Major the contest was ended and the blood of an illustrious sire was fated to seek distinction in other and distant fields of duty.

Major Thomas Harney married Margaret Hudson, a woman of great virtue and intelligence, and a descendant of an Irish family of distinction and merit. She, too, like other women of the frontier and the West, was possessed of strong traits of character, a woman of high bearing who could well boast, with Cornelia, that her sons were her jewels; for her children were

"Such as the Doric mothers bore."

Her strength of character is well illustrated in the many labors of life. It was the custom in the early days of Tennessee for the settlers to build picket fences inside of which to escape when the Indians came in too great force. Immediately upon entering it was the duty of the women to make the bullets for the men to use during the siege. At one time the alarm of the approach of the hostile Indians was given, and the settlers all fled within the picket fence. On this occasion a woman well known for her excellencies was chosen to make bullets, but it was soon discovered that she was spilling the lead. Mrs. Harney, seeing this, requested to do the work herself. It was given to her, and she made the bullets without manifesting the least uneasiness, and conducted herself as though nothing concerned her whatever, although a brisk fight was progressing.

On another occasion her son James was engaged in a fight with a man much his superior in physical strength, and armed with a bowie-knife with which he had already once cut Harney's hand. Mrs. Harney on seeing the contest, and the bowie-knife in the hand of the man of greater strength, went immediately to the scene of action, and denounced the man as a coward for using the knife, and demanded him to surrender it to her, which he did at once.

The experience of this act well demonstrates the con-

quering power of a heroic woman, as well as it testifies of the strong character of the brave women who have, in all the years of the past, made illustrious the life of the pioneer by deeds of self-reliance and valor.

Immigrating into Tennessee, Mr. Harney settled in Davidson county, where he became well known and was held in great respect. He engaged in business as a merchant at first, and subsequently devoted himself to the business of land surveying, a profession of which there was at that time much need and which few were competent to fill.

The fruits of the marriage of Thomas Harney and Margaret Hudson were eight children, two daughters and six sons, of whom the General was the youngest. His brothers and sisters were Benjamin F., the eldest, John Milton, James Thompson, Robert Burns, Eliza, Margaret and Thomas, born in the order named. The two eldest were physicians, and Benjamin was a surgeon in the United States army, serving in the Indian and Mexican wars.

Dr. Benjamin F. Harney, the eldest and most noted brother of the General, was in the highest sense a remarkable man, both in private and public life. He first studied medicine under Dr. Robinson, an eminent physician of Nashville, Tennessee, and graduated in Philadelphia. After spending a number of years in the practice, he entered the army as a surgeon, and distinguished himself in the Black Hawk, Florida and Mexican wars. As a surgeon he had no superior in his field of duty, and always won the honors of true manhood and was respected and esteemed wherever known.

John Milton Harney, also a physician, studied and graduated in medicine in Philadelphia. He, too, was both remarkable and peculiar; a man of rare genius and a temperament that nature had touched, as she touched Keats and Kirk White. Having graduated he returned to Kentucky and began the practice of medicine, which he followed for some years with great success. He gave some

of his time to literature and wrote a noted poem called "Crystallina." His heart, like that of a woman, was a romance, and its master chord was love. He was blessed with a happy family, but his wife died, and he went about

——"Like some wounded bird
With but one unbroken wing to soar upon."

The death of his wife inflicted upon his heart a wound of an incurable character. At her death he abandoned the home of his love and left the children of his household, and sought heart relief in other scenes of life, in other fields of duty. He went to New York City and secured a position on the editorial staff of the *New York Enquirer*, where he remained for some time. But the dream of happier days and fairer times still haunted his mind like a fairy phantom. He thought of the new grave of his wife upon the green hills of Kentucky and the lonely pathway she walked down into the tomb, and he decided to abandon his native land.

A privateer was fitting out in New York harbor for Buenos Ayres, and he secured on her the situation of surgeon. He embarked upon the ship and departed,

"From lands of snow to lands of sun."

Off the coast of Georgia the crew of the ship mutinied and Dr. Harney, in that brief time learning that there was a wide difference between the life of a privateer and that of a law abiding citizen, took advantage of the strife among the crew and persuaded them to go to Savannah, Georgia. Arriving at Savannah, and putting his feet again upon his native soil, he determined to live and die among his own people. He soon started the *Savannah Georgian*, and conducted it with great success for a number of years.

His health failed him, and the death of his wife still preying upon his mind, he decided to go back to Bardstown, Kentucky, and die, and go down into the tomb and rest by the side of his wife till the Judgment Day. Soon after he returned to Kentucky he was solicited by some

Catholic priests to embrace the Catholic religion. He decided to do so, and seek an asylum for his broken heart and disconsolate and weary mind in that mysterious and all-consoling Mother Church. Dr. Harney embraced the Catholic Church and its religion as a refuge from the tempest and the storm of his mind. He not only embraced the Catholic faith, but was ordained a priest, at a small place some fifteen miles from Bardstown. This, however, did not bring consolation to a soul wrecked on the voyage of time. No creed or gown could hush and console the troubled heart, for

> "The soul uneasy and confined from home,
> Rest and expatiates in a life to come."

The woman of his faith and heart had "crossed to the hills beyond," and Dr. Harney had but just taken the black robe of the priest when "death touched his tired heart," and he joined hands on the other side with her who had gone before.

The family of General Harney were related in England to the Selbys and other noble and knightly families, while on his mother's side they were related to the Fitzgeralds, one of whom, Lord Edward, suffered with Robert Emmet the extreme penalty of unfortunate patriotism.

At an early age, profiting by early instruction at home, young Harney attended the common schools which the country then afforded. He was next sent, in 1814, to an academy conducted by Professor Craighead, at Haysborough, Tennessee. While at this school a gentleman named Jennison, from Boston, came to Tennessee, and stopped in the Harney village, and Mrs. Harney, desiring her son should become a sailor and enter the navy, induced Mr. Jennison to give him lessons in navigation preparatory to his professional career on the sea. During one of his vacations, while in the seventeenth year of his age, he paid a visit to his elder brother, Dr. Benjamin F. Harney, who was

at that time serving in the United States army at Baton Rouge as surgeon. While on this visit he attracted the attention and acquired the friendship of General Jessup, then in command. The General asked him if he did not desire to enter the army. Young Harney replied that his mother intended him for the navy. A few weeks afterwards General Jessup handed him a commission as Second Lieutenant in the First United States Infantry. This commission is dated February 13, 1818, and is signed by James Monroe, President of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

LIEUTENANT HARNEY AND THE PIRATE LAFITTE.

ON the 28th day of June, 1818, Lieutenant Harney joined his regiment, then serving in Louisiana. The company to which he belonged was sent almost immediately to Attakapas Parish in that State.

At the battle of New Orleans, fought January 8, 1815, the American army under General Jackson had been reinforced and materially aided by the pirates of Barataria. These hardy buccaneers inhabited a series of small islands along the coast of Louisiana, and made war on the commerce of all nations. Their leaders were occasionally caught and imprisoned, and sometimes, though rarely, executed for their crimes. They had infested the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico since the time of Sir Francis Drake, who won the honor of knighthood, at the hands of Queen Elizabeth, for following the same business. Their ancestors or predecessors had laid in wait for the richly laden Spanish galleons which carried treasures from Mexico to Spain. There had never been a time, since Sir Francis Drake, when piracy did not exist in the waters adjacent to Louisiana and Florida, and on the Cuban coast. The advancing and increasing settlements of the West Indies had, with the navies of the European powers, confined but not repressed them. Driven by English, French and Spanish cruisers out of the direct route of vessels in the trade from Mexico to Europe, they, too weak to attack convoyed fleets, had taken refuge among the islands along the coast of Louisiana, and within the great inlets, creeks and bays sheltered by that coast.

The history of this piratical colony will never be known,

because they kept neither archives nor annals. Outlaws as they were, they had little communication with the civilized world, except through such confederates as took the risk for the great profit it afforded, to dispose of their cargoes, or supply them with ammunition and stores. They could only communicate officially with the Government of the United States through the prison bars, or as criminals in the dock with a prospect of the negotiation ending upon a scaffold at the end of a halter.

The command of these pirates descended from Drake, or Sir Walter Raleigh, through a succession of desperate and daring outlaws, of whom the names are known only to dim tradition, until, as Vincent Nolte expresses it, "for want of other heirs" it fell upon the two brothers Lafitte, and a pirate named Dominique, afterwards famous for having captured the daughter of Aaron Burr. These pirates were born in Bayonne. The elder assumed the supreme command, and called himself the Emperor of Barataria. Lafitte seems to have been a bold, intelligent and not uncultivated nor ungenerous man. He called his island after the celebrated government of Sancho Panza, and frequently issued bulletins and proclamations in the style of the then Emperor Napoleon.

Lafitte, being French, and the population of the coast and New Orleans being of French origin or birth, had little difficulty in establishing the most amicable relations with the inhabitants. There was a kindly feeling for the freebooters among the early settlers of Louisiana, a good feeling which earned for the people a kind of immunity for their own commerce, while it in a measure licensed Lafitte's depredations on the commerce of other people. The pirates were often captured and brought into New Orleans, but rarely suffered the extreme penalties of the law. The juries were lenient, at least good-natured with them, and they were always able to employ and pay good counsel. Lafitte had a friend named Leclerc, likewise a Frenchman,

who published a newspaper in New Orleans, and he often sent his Napoleonic proclamations of the Emperor of Barataria to Leclerc for publication and official promulgation to his subjects. It happened unfortunately—or fortunately—that Lafitte and his brother Baluche, who often showed themselves in the streets of New Orleans, in company with Leclerc, Monsieur Darezac and others, had been arrested by some over-zealous American official, and were confined in jail. They had never before had any difficulty in giving bail, but this time the judge—Hall—refused to take bail for them. They retained Edward Livingston, a lawyer belonging to an illustrious family in New York, for their counsel. Livingston was a man of learning and ability, but by no means fastidious. He had removed from New York because, having the hereditary talent of his family, he was not possessed of their hereditary virtues, and was a ready and able advocate of the pirates on all occasions. Being brother-in-law of Darezac, he had a ready means of making them his clients, and earning good fees from the fruits of their crimes.

It happened that Baluche Lafitte and some of his confederates were in prison, and about to be tried for their piracies, at the time Lord Packenham landed at the Valliere plantation with an English force for the capture of New Orleans. Livingston represented to General Jackson, whose troops, outside of Coffee's brigade (about 500 strong), were raw militia, that by the release of the pirates the whole force of the Empire of Barataria could be brought to aid in the defence of the city; that they were skilled in the use of artillery and could render efficient service. He only asked that the pirates should be released from the jail and given charge of such batteries as could be arranged for them, and a promise to intercede for their pardon with the President at Washington. General Jackson reluctantly consented, and in the emergency gave his word. He had been annoyed at the persistency of the judge (Hall) who held

the civil court, insisting on the forms of law being observed, when he ordered the citizens into the lines and trenches, until in a moment of passion he ordered him off the bench and proclaimed martial law. He therefore having closed the courts, opened the jails and let out the pirates. They rendered such good service that it may be doubted if the battle could have been gained without them.

General Jackson kept his word, and the Lafittes observed the terms on which they accepted their pardon. One of them (Baluche) accepted service in the Venezuelan navy and died a commodore. The other has furnished the theme for several novels, but his fate is not definitely known, though he was seen at Paris as late as 1857, at an advanced age.

The pirate settlement, by the loss of their leaders, was comparatively broken up. The empire of Barataria existed no longer, but the hardened and hardy wretches who were formerly Lafitte's subjects, scattered abroad, and without an able and intrepid leader, commenced a system of smaller piracies. They took possession of the inlets to the Gulf, and made themselves a rendezvous in the secluded islands of the Atchafalaya on the borders of the parish of Attakapas. It was to repress the depredations of these outlaws that Lieutenant Harney's company was sent into that portion of Louisiana. The pirates had become smugglers, and their headquarters were at Galveston Island, then a portion of Texas and a province of Mexico.

The Atchafalaya is a bay which puts into the main-land from the Gulf of Mexico. It is about one hundred miles west of Barataria, and communicates by several inlets and bayous with Vermillion Bay and Cote Blanche. An intricate system of deep inlets and creeks communicates with the interior of the State and upper Red River, without connection with the Mississippi, but parallel with it. This Bay furnished facilities for evasion of the revenue laws which the ex-pirates and daring smugglers could not forego.

It was, to use the term, entrenched for their purposes and covered by dense swamps of cypress, and almost a labyrinth of deep and sluggish creeks. The Bay was, and still is, navigable for ships of moderate burden, suitable for the smuggler. It was studded with islands, and was in reality a sea, an archipelago imbedded in forests and swamps.

We have said that Lafitte's men had their headquarters at Galveston Island, where is now the beautiful city of Galveston. But at that time it was only an island of low sand beach, which gave a shelter in a harbor too shallow for large vessels, and furnished with convenient inlets and creeks where smugglers could find easy refuge from cruisers.

Lafitte had met with some injury to himself and family in his native country, at the hands of the Spaniards. With the accustomed pertinacity of the Bayonnese he had cherished the wrong and sworn vengeance on the whole Spanish race. His followers preserved the vendetta. They did not prey upon American commerce, but were apt in the business of smuggling into the United States the goods of which they robbed the Spanish vessels.

The company to which Lieutenant Harney was attached, on reaching the archipelago, made their headquarters at a place called New Town, near Navia Bay. His first service at this post was to ascend the bay in command of a detachment, when he discovered some vessels and goods, which he took possession of, and then returned to New Town. In the woods they found some ducks and had good sport shooting. The detachment was delayed until their companions thought they were all lost or killed.

During the voyage Lieutenant Harney stopped at an island known then as Thomas Island, and was treated by the proprietor, a Mr. Thomas, with great hospitality. Examining the cargo of the captured vessels they found them ballasted with bar iron. The bars were hollow and filled

with quicksilver. The other detachment, in command of Captain Amelung, was met by him some fifteen miles from the camp, and the Captain seemed very much surprised at finding Lieutenant Harney and party alive.

Following up these advantages Lieutenant Harney, in charge of his detachment, cruising in a boat in the bay, signaled a small sailing vessel. Having no more convenient flag with which to call the attention of the craft, he tore up his shirt. The vessel hove to and was boarded by Harney and his party, who had concealed their arms. Harney demanded to see the papers of the vessel. The officer could not speak English, and addressed him through an interpreter in Spanish. After descending into his cabin he reappeared with what he claimed to be his ship's register. The papers were not satisfactory, and one of the party, overhearing the captain order his men, in French, to get ready to fight, informed Harney of the fact. He thereupon siezed the captain of the ship and threw him down the hatchway, while his men captured the crew.

In the meantime an equinoctial storm had swept over the bay, and the bayous were overflowed with brackish water, so that the men had much difficulty in finding water fit to drink. They suffered very much from thirst, but finally succeeded in finding fresh water in a hollow cypress log, which, however, became so full of worms that they had to strain it before it was fit to drink.

After capturing the smuggler they found in the cargo some light sour wine, which answered for water, to the great relief of the party. They found this vessel ballasted likewise with quicksilver, and she was manned and sent to New Orleans as a prize. Captain Amelung claimed one-half of the captured goods, but ultimately succeeded in keeping the whole of them.

After this campaign, which was perilous and arduous, involving perils from the climate as well as the half savage and desperate smugglers, Harney was ordered to Baton

Rouge, where he reported in January, 1819. It was thus in his nineteenth year the great soldier began his apprenticeship to a profession he has so well adorned, and in which he has so faithfully served his country. Even at that early age he displayed an intrepidity which has ever since characterized his career, with a sagacity incompatible with a blunder, and a patient courage and endurance which gave earnest of the achievements of his future manhood.

After this perilous and arduous service, in which he had been engaged for nearly a year, he was ordered to Fort Warren, in Boston, on recruiting service for his regiment, the First Infantry. Major Brooks was in command of the Fort. A conflict soon arose between him and his subordinate. Major Brooks sometimes left the post, and on his leaving Lieutenant Harney assumed the command. For so doing complaints were made to the superior officer. On one occasion, on Major Brooks' return, he sent for Harney, who reported at once. Major Brooks said,

"Lieutenant, I understand you assumed command in my absence?"

Harney answered, "Yes, sir, I did."

"You must not do so any more," said the Major.

"I will do so whenever you leave the Island," replied Harney, firmly.

The Major went away again soon after, and the Lieutenant again took command. When Major Brooks returned he preferred charges against Lieutenant Harney. The charges were not sustained by the court-martial, the court finding that the conduct of the young officer was in accordance with law and the regulations. After this there was an understanding as to what were the relative duties of the two officers.

After a year spent in recruiting service Harney was ordered, on the 20th of June, to report for active duty with his regiment in Louisiana, and he accordingly reported at Baton Rouge, where he remained until March, 1821. At

that time he was allowed his first leave of absence, which lasted until July of that year, when he rejoined his regiment. It was during this leave of absence, and while in New Orleans, that Lieutenant Harney first saw Lafitte, the pirate.

Florida had been a province of Spain. Ponce de Leon, a Spanish adventurer, in the most adventurous period of the life of the Spanish nation, had landed there in search of the fabulous Fountain of Youth. He had named it Florida, or land of flowers. Afterwards came the celebrated Fernando de Soto, in 1539, only forty-seven years after the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and the Spanish colony of Saint Augustine, the oldest settlement in the United States, was founded. Florida had remained a province of Spain after the acquisition of Louisiana from the French, and long after Spain had parted with her title to the Louisianas.

When the war with England began, in 1812, many hostile tribes of Indians in Georgia and Alabama took refuge in Florida. They were called Seminoles or runaways, and were encouraged by the Spanish authorities and protected by the Spanish garrisons which manned the small posts held by Spain in that province. These Indians, reinforced by such runaway slaves as had taken refuge in Spanish territory, finding the United States at war with England, and incited by English emissaries, formed themselves into small bands and made war on their own account on the border inhabitants of our country. They murdered, robbed, and scalped, and committed outrages in their predatory raids into American territory when occasion offered, and then fell back into the forests and glades of the Spanish territory. They thus kept the States bordering on Florida in continual alarm. The English aided and organized them under the leadership of Francis Hillisago, a distinguished Seminole chief. The English Government was represented by Arbuthnot and Ambuster,

LAFITTE.

who sustained, advised, and incited the Seminoles to hostilities.

These hostilities did not cease with the treaty of Ghent, and General Jackson was finally ordered to take command of the militia and quell the disturbances. He succeeded to the extent that he captured and executed Hillisago, and subsequently with an army composed principally of Tennessee militia, overran the Spanish Territory, captured Arbuthnot and Ambuster, and hanged one and shot the other. He also captured the Spanish garrisons of Saint Augustine and Pensacola at Fort Barrancas, and sent the Spaniards to Cuba. These summary proceedings did not provoke war with Spain, but led to the purchase and cession of Florida to the United States by treaty on the 17th day of July, 1821.

At this juncture General Jackson, on taking possession of Florida in behalf of his government, and being Governor of Florida with all the authority of his own nation and the Spanish Governor, one of his aides-de-camp being absent, called on Lieutenant Harney, the son of his old friend and neighbor, to serve on his staff in his stead. Harney accordingly reported for this duty to General Jackson at Pensacola. General Jackson honored him with the command of the guard attendant on the transfer of the country from a foreign to our own nation. In this position he served till the consummation of the transfer, and General Jackson being relieved of the command at his own request, Lieutenant Harney reported at Baton Rouge in March, 1822, for duty with his regiment.

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION TO THE YELLOWSTONE.

AFTER his return from Florida, Lieutenant Harney remained with his regiment in the field and at Baton Rouge until March, 1822, when his health having failed, his family predisposition to consumption induced him to apply for a sick leave of absence, which was granted. But in May he again reported for duty with his regiment, and for considerations of health, he exchanged with Lieutenant Brent of the First Artillery. He joined his new regiment in garrison at Fort Constitution, N. H., and remained in that arm of the service till February, 1823, at which time he was re-transferred to the First Infantry, and rejoined his regiment in the field in Louisiana. He served with his command in Mississippi until April, 1824, and again in Louisiana until August of that year, at which time he reported to Jefferson Barracks, the first time his duty had called him into Missouri.

No steamboat had ever at that time ascended the turbid waters of the Missouri River. The State had only been four years admitted into the Union, and all west and northwest of it was a wild and uninhabited territory, except where the few military out-posts afforded protection from the savages to the few and sparse settlements of whites. The trapper and hunter, principally French voyageurs, carried on a trade with the Indians for peltries and buffalo robes. The great rivers of the West were still navigated only by the pirogue, the flat and keel-boat, and the Indian canoe. Since Father Marquette descended the Mississippi River in 1671, but little progress had been made in the means of navigation. The Jesuits and Franciscans, ever

the pioneers of civilization, carrying the cross to the wild and nomadic tribes of the West, had preceded with the mission of peace and salvation, the voyageur and trafficker, and had penetrated among the distant tribes on both sides of the Rocky Mountains. Many of them had suffered martyrdom, and many had died from exposure and privation, but the bold advance guard, armed with the gospel, had prepared the way of peaceful conquest over the then supposed great American desert, and the mountain fastnesses of the Cordilleras. Father De Smet, the saintly "*black gown*," had only begun the conversion of the Blackfeet. Except the expedition of Lewis and Clark, few save some hardy voyageurs and the faithful missionaries had ever penetrated to the Pacific coast. The traders and trappers had introduced among the Indians, with their wares, the knowledge of whisky and the corrupting influences of civilized vices, and with traffic and vice their rapacity had made the wild savage, naturally simple minded and truthful, acquainted with the arts of falsehood and fraud. Overreached and swindled by the civilized man, the wild man became suspicious of that civilization which taught him only the devious paths and crooked ways of dishonesty.

At that time the Crows and the Mandans, the Sioux and Gros-Ventres, were powerful and warlike tribes, inhabiting the territory bordering on the Missouri River on both sides, from the confines of the white settlements in Missouri to the Yellowstone. They had seen with jealousy the progress of encroaching white settlements, and seem to have anticipated the ultimate ruin and decay of their race. They had found the vices and frauds of the white man more dangerous and formidable than his arms. Dim traditions of the perishing red man of the far East and sunrise had reached them. They found themselves receding before him, and it was not difficult to persuade them that to fight and die was preferable to inglorious vassalage.

It ought to be noted that the French inhabitants of Louisiana, which included the whole of the great valleys east of the Rocky Mountains, watered by the Mississippi and Missouri, and their tributaries, had always lived in peace and good-will with the Indians. With the exception of the massacre at Natchez, in 1763, but few or no instances of hostilities occurred between the French and the aboriginal inhabitants. The affair at Natchez was an outrage which grew out of the rapacity of a trading company to whom had been granted a monopoly. It was regarded as so disgraceful and dishonest, cowardly and cruel, that the public sentiment of the province condemned it to such an extent that nothing of the kind recurred until the Spanish Governor O'Reilly tyrannized over the country for a brief period. The French, in their dealings with the Indians, were scrupulously just and fair. They were a polite and polished people, who readily adapted themselves to the simple habits and manners of the red man. They were wine-drinkers, and being sober in their habits, not likely to introduce drunkenness among the savages either by precept or example. The early voyageur and French inhabitant seems to have been a man of few wants and simple tastes. The Frenchman was satisfied with enough, and enjoyed his abundance in gayeties. He was to some extent insensible to the temptations of grasping avarice, and indifferent to parsimony when there was abundance. For him and the native aborigines the world was big enough, and the valley furnished abundance for both. He preferred to live with the Indian peaceably and socially. It is remarkable how few Indian outrages are reported in the nearly two centuries the Louisianas had been known to the French as compared with the incessant wars and brutalities provoked between the English and the red men, from the time of King Philip, of the Pequods, whose people were killed or transported as slaves by the Puritans, just out of the May-Flower, down to the Quaker administration of Indian

Affairs, and the times of Captain Jack, Sitting Bull, and Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces.

From the English settlements the Indian receded, leaving behind him a trail of blood and carnage. His line of retreat has been marked with massacre and ruin. As his race faded out he has occasionally bestirred himself and marked his dying agony with the heroism of despair. From Wyoming, where all the peaceful inhabitants of a beautiful valley were slaughtered and scalped, to the sad massacre of Custer's command on the Little Big Horn, he has ever turned upon his foes in the deadliest spirit of wily and savage vengeance. Yet in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, where the spirit of justice, fair dealing and mercy were illustrated by the scrupulous followers of Penn in their system of brotherly love, as in Louisiana, it was rare that Indian outrages occurred. It was not, as M. De Vergennes shows in his able and comprehensive memorial to the French king, until the English trader from the American settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas, introduced their fire-water and vices among the Indians of Louisiana, along with their traffic, that the savages, demoralized by contact with civilization, became savage.

At this time St. Louis had not more than five thousand inhabitants, and the whole State of Missouri not more than twenty thousand. The State was under the administration of her first Governor, McNair, and her first Senators, Thomas H. Benton and David Barton, represented her in the Senate, while John Scott was her only Representative in Congress. The town of *Vide Poche*, now Carondelet, then several miles from the city, was still as primitive as when Perrin du Lac described it in 1803, "*Its inhabitants had little to distinguish them from savages except their surtouts.*" Then, and for many years afterwards, their industry consisted in catching drift wood.

But St. Louis was thoroughly French. It had always been French, and even for the few years that O'Reilly and

the Spanish Governors had ruled Louisiana, had hardly acknowledged anybody but the French king as their ruler. They were not over-zealous Americans when, in 1803, the province was turned over to the United States, after the treaty with Napoleon. Their friendly relations with the Indians had rarely been disturbed, hence Lewis and Clark had found the tribes peaceful and hospitable all the way across the Continent in the very year Louisiana was acquired from France. But, after the English-speaking people had spread over the Northwest and began to settle on the frontiers, and after the Saxon trader had penetrated into the Indian country, the savage tribes began to discover a difference between the French voyageur and the American trader. They had known the Frenchman as the Canadian trapper, the trader from St. Louis, and as the Jesuit missionary. The introduction of the Saxon element had, again as in lower Louisiana, demoralized the savage and made him restless and ferocious.

Rumors of threatened Indian troubles had reached the Departments at Washington, and there was a prospect of an outbreak. The Sioux and Auricheras, Mandans and Gros-Ventres were threatening an alliance which promised to place these sturdy warriors on the war-path.

Lieutenant Harney had been ordered to Jefferson Barracks. He found the volante and amiable society of the early French inhabitants to his taste. Young and full of life and vigor, with animal spirits sustained by vigorous health, and a more than ordinarily manly physique, the Lieutenant, after his arduous campaigns, began to find compensation for his many toils in the charming society of the then young city, which, now a metropolis, has ever since been his permanent home.

Four companies, including Lieutenant Harney's, had reported at Jefferson Barracks. They soon received orders to start for Council Bluffs, for which post, after making due preparations, they departed. The orders were soon coun-

termanded, and news reached them that the Indians had made peace. The detachment stopped for the winter at Bellefontaine, about fifteen miles above Saint Louis.

In the spring following the detachments, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, moved forward for Council Bluffs. They were accompanied by General Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon as peace commissioners, with Mr. Langham as secretary. They went in keel-boats which had to be propelled up the current of the Missouri River by poles at the shoulder of the sturdy boatman, and often when the swift current could not be mastered in this manner, they were forced to haul up the boat by cordelling. This proceeding consisted in lying-to at the bank until a strong cable was carried forward and fastened to a tree or stake, when all hands would pull against the current by main strength. This method was laborious and slow, requiring weeks and even months to accomplish tedious voyages which now, with the aid of steamboats, are made in a few days.

The boats were heavily laden with ammunition and supplies for the expedition, as well as with their valuable cargoes of human lives. The voyage was not only tedious and full of labor, but perilous. The detachment camped on shore at night and resumed their journey each day. No white people lived on the shores at any point above Boonville or Old Franklin.

Old Council Bluffs is situated about fifteen miles above Omaha, on the west bank of the Missouri River. The present site of Omaha was then a trading post, owned by a Frenchman named Cabanne, whose name is familiar to all the old citizens of Saint Louis. Old Council Bluffs is a high bluff, and takes its name on account of having been a general rendezvous of Indians meeting in council. It was known afterwards as Fort Atkinson. The troops remained there that winter.

In the spring they moved up to Two Thousand Mile

Creek, which was so named by Lewis and Clark, from the circumstance that it was just two thousand miles from the mouth of the Missouri River, and is three hundred miles above the Yellowstone. Part of this command was left at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and Lieutenant Harney was placed in command of about five hundred men, whom, accompanied by General Atkinson, he conducted safely to Two Thousand Mile Creek. The object of this expedition was to make treaties with the Indians. They had met the Indians in council, consisting of Crows, Gros-Ventres and Mandans, at the Mandan village, where some incidents occurred which illustrate favorably some of the grandest traits of Indian character and the perils which sometimes follow the most trifling indiscretions.

The true soldier is always brave and firm, but the responsible duties of his profession require him to be always cool and discreet.

A knowledge of Indian character is not always acquired by intuition, but must be learned from experience and by contact with him. When analyzed to his primitive elements he is always found to be a man. He is human, like the rest of the creatures of Almighty God. Contact with the red man in some of his debased phases does not tend to invest him with the heroic character with which Cooper in his novels and Pope in his "Essay on Man" have clothed him, but those who know him best have often had occasion to see him in those better aspects in which his native manliness and impassive stoicism show him equal to the more civilized white man; and his worst phases only make him no better than the worst specimens of white civilization, where human depravity is only exaggerated by cultivation and intelligence.

At the council held with the Mandans, Crows and Gros-Ventres, an incident occurred which did not show the savage nature inferior to the best phase of civilized humanity. The council was held in camp adjacent to the village.

The chiefs and sachems, clad in their barbaric habiliments, were assembled and seated in a circle. Their war paint and their dress gave a picturesque and grotesque dignity to the council, and the forest chieftains, with that solemn dignity from which they are never startled or surprised, attended to the voice of the peace commissioners.

After each warrior had delivered his oration, the terms and conditions of the treaty began to be discussed. Among the matters first stated to the red men was a demand for the restoration of some prisoners captured from a tribe in the British possessions. They were a family of British subjects, and the English government had asked, through its minister, to have them restored. The matter was stated through an interpreter in all its details, and it was explained that the prisoners should be set at liberty and restored to their friends as a primary condition of peace.

The chiefs heard the proposition with patience and without emotion, and after it was through one of them arose and in response, stated they were ready to liberate the prisoners, but they must be ransomed and paid for. One of the American commissioners, Major O'Fallon, who was irritable from recent sickness and nervousness, lost his temper, and becoming excited at the cool proposition of the chief, advanced upon him and struck him over the head and in the face with his horse-pistol, and angrily administered the same treatment to two other chiefs, but before he could advance to another he was caught by Colonel Leavenworth. The chiefs were seriously wounded and the blood ran down their faces. They remained perfectly quiet, but in an instant every warrior placed himself in a position of defense and offence. The Indians were fully armed and outnumbered the whites both in council and in camp. Fortunately the other commissioners and officers were less rash than Major O'Fallon. The moment was one of great peril. Every man's life depended on his coolness and

presence of mind. Some one of them had the long roll sounded, which called the disciplined troops to arms, while they undertook to explain to the Indians that Major O'Fallon's indiscreet rashness was the result of delirium. At this juncture Lieutenant Harney approached the head warrior of the Crow nation and extended to him his hand in token of peace. The surly chieftain refused to take him by the hand. There was no time to be lost. It was war or peace. The Lieutenant cursed the chief and looked him steadily in the eye for some moments. The warrior received his gaze defiantly for awhile and then took the extended hand in token of good faith, threw off his robe and went immediately through the crowd of Indians, and soon aided the interpreter and the party in explaining the untoward circumstance. After awhile order was restored and the negotiations progressed. The family were given up as one of the conditions of the peace, but the Government paid the ransom first demanded. The treaty was concluded satisfactorily to both parties, and resulted in peace.

Lieutenant Harney was physically a man of most graceful and muscular frame, tall and spare, he had great powers of endurance as well as strength. He was very fleet of foot and his reputation as a runner had become known to the Crows and Mandans, and the tribes of the upper Missouri.

During the council held at the Mandan Village Harney had a race with a Crow Indian, but he was encumbered with his clothes, and had his pockets full of Indian relics he had been buying and collecting. In this race the Crow warrior had the advantage, which Harney gracefully acknowledged, but he told the warrior that at ten o'clock the next day he would run another race with him. The Indian went off well pleased, and to the surprise of everybody, all the warriors and women and children in the neighborhood, with their champion runner, appeared at the appointed hour. They commenced piling up buffalo

THE RACE.

robes and tobacco and such barbaric ornaments and treasures as they had, at the feet of the Lieutenant and the Crow warrior. These were intended as a prize to the winner.

At the start the Indian got the advantage. The course was over a fine, grassy, elevated prairie. They were to run a half-mile, and for some distance the Crow kept the lead. Lieutenant Harney heard one of his brother officers, Captain Spencer, exclaim, "A little faster, Harney, or he will beat you." Hearing this voice he renewed his efforts and quickened his speed. He soon passed the Indian and came first to the goal. There was great excitement and interest felt in the race on both sides, and General Atkinson assured Harney he would not have had him lose the race for a thousand dollars. These feats of physical excellence had a great tendency to awe the Indians into a respect for the white people, which barbaric races always feel for superior prowess.

On reaching Two Thousand Mile Creek the troops remained there two days. They did not find any Indians. Meanwhile Lieutenant Harney and Captain Mason went up the Yellowstone on a hunting expedition and camped out. Next morning on awakening Harney supposed he saw some Indians, and called to Captain Mason, but they soon discovered that what they saw were boats coming down the Yellowstone, and they were soon ascertained to be some trading boats belonging to General Ashley, of Saint Louis. They were fourteen in number, and were laden with peltries and buffalo robes. They were of about the value of two hundred thousand dollars. When the flotilla reached the camp, the peltries were placed in the keel-boat commanded by Lieutenant Harney and transported to Council Bluffs, where they were transferred to another boat belonging to General Ashley.

General Ashley was one of the most eminent of the pioneer citizens of early Saint Louis. He was a man of

great enterprise and liberality, and of such force of character as made success, and eminent success in life, inevitable.

On one occasion, while eating dinner in mid-winter at his house in St. Louis, he got news that his voyageurs and agents, with their rich crop of peltries, had been captured by the Indians. He immediately mounted his horse and started for the mountains, where, by dint of his courage, untiring energy and firmness, he succeeded in recovering all and safely transporting them to Saint Louis.

It was at Council Bluffs that Lieutenant Harney received notice of his well-earned promotion to the rank of Captain of the First Infantry. This commission was dated 14th of May, 1825. On the voyage homeward the Captain received a proposition from General Ashley, which was a sore temptation to the young soldier, who at that time had no fortune but his pay, to leave a profession which he has so well adorned, and abandon a career which has been so useful to his country and honorable to himself. Ashley, realizing the intrepid manhood of the young Captain of twenty-five, proposed to fit out a trading expedition to the Yellowstone, place Harney in charge of it and give him one-half of all the profits to be earned. The Captain was not to be required to put in one dollar of capital, and would only have to give his energy and attention to conducting the business; but after mature reflection he declined the proposition.

On arriving at Saint Louis in October, Captain Harney was ordered to report for duty with his regiment in the field. The regiment was then serving in the Creek Nation, and Harney remained there until June, 1826, at which time he was ordered to New Orleans, where he made the acquaintance of the Duke Saxe-Weimer, to whom the Captain presented a full set of Indian curiosities. He also met Lafitte, from whose Baratarian subjects he had, in 1819, captured three vessels in the Bay of Atchafalaya. Lafitte was about

five feet eight inches high, rather heavy set, like a seaman, with fine broad shoulders, a very fine face, keen black eyes and a very handsome nose. His hair was black and he had a very intelligent and sprightly expression, and a fine broad forehead.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

IN JUNE, 1827, Captain Harney was ordered to join with his company the forces under General Atkinson, who were serving against the hostile Winnebagoes in Wisconsin.

The causes of this war are obscure, but it probably grew out of the agreement on the part of the whites to protect the Indians from hostiles while on their way to and from the trading posts. In the summer of 1827 a party of Chippewas, twenty-four in number, on a tour to Fort Snelling, were surprised by a band of Sioux, who killed and wounded eight of them. The commandant at Fort Snelling captured four of the Sioux and delivered them over to the Chippewas, who immediately put them to death. Red Bird, a chief of the Sioux, in revenge, made war on the Chippewas, but was defeated, much to the ridicule and scandal of himself as a warrior. He then determined to make war on the white settlements in revenge for his previous defeat, and in company with Black Hawk and one or two other Indians attacked a solitary settlement on Prairie du Chien and killed two men. Shortly after this they attacked two keelboats which had been conveying commissary stores to Fort Snelling. They were not successful in the capture of the boats, but they killed two men and wounded four others.

In September, 1827, General Atkinson, with a brigade of regulars and militia, marched against the hostile and predatory Indians and succeeded in capturing both Red Bird and Black Hawk. They were held in prison for trial at a special term of the United States Circuit Court. Red Bird died in prison. Black Hawk was tried for the attack on

BLACK HAWK.

the boats, and was discharged for want of evidence to convict him. There was a year's delay in the trial, in which time the Indians were confined in prison. An Indian can meet death with stoical fortitude, but long and inglorious imprisonment he regards as the refinement of barbarity more inhuman than slow torture. Red Bird, chafing under the restraints of the prison, died just before his tardy trial was to have been had. Black Hawk survived and was acquitted, but the iron had entered into his soul.

The war with the Winnebagoes was a brief one. The tribes were at war with one another, and these feuds were incessantly breaking out into private murders, in which case they preferred resorting to private vengeance to claiming the separate protection of the white people under their treaty. An Indian is not envious or malignant. He does not rejoice in the death and misfortune of his enemy. But with him it is a luxury to kill, when, according to his code, revenge is his due and his duty.

Captain Harney, soon after the close of the campaign, which resulted in the capture of Red Bird and Black Hawk, returned to Jefferson Barracks, where he remained until the fourth day of November, in the enjoyment of the elegant and polite society of St. Louis, among the fair ones of whom his gallantry, his graces of person and manner, made him an especial favorite. This was the period of life when, with the blessings of health and youth, with an exuberance of animal spirits, he was capable of enjoying life at a post with the greatest zest. It was only a just compensation for the perils and arduous labors of the campaign to give way to the promptings of joyous youth and nature, in the social enjoyments for which men in military life are so well fitted. With an established reputation as a soldier, and a rank at that time high in the army for a young man, he was, of course, well received by a people always, and still distinguished for their warm hospitality.

In November he received a leave of absence which gave

him leisure to go to the Capitol and indulge in the gay and fashionable enjoyments of Washington City. In January, 1828, he returned to duty at Jefferson Barracks, with his regiment. In March, 1828, he marched with his command —two companies—to Fort Crawford, in Minnesota, where he remained until June, 1828, and was then removed to Fort Winnebago on Green Bay.

It was at this latter place that he first met Mr. Jefferson Davis, then a second Lieutenant in the United States army, between whom there was formed a warm personal friendship, which, founded on mutual esteem, has lasted, undisturbed by the stirring and trying scenes through which they have each since passed, for fifty years. Mr. Davis has often spoken with pleasure of his association with Captain Harney in the army, and is pleased to relate many incidents, illustrative of the manliness and intrepidity of his character. Among them, is the story of his chasing a dog that trespassed on his garden. Captain Harney took great delight in cultivating a garden at the fort, and would allow no trespassers or intruders. He always kept more or less a pack of fleet hounds for hunting the noted game with which the country abounded. One of these hounds had taken a fancy to disport himself in the Captain's garden. The hound was too valuable to be shot, and the only way in which he could be punished was by the sportsman's method of a sound flogging with a ramrod. But the hound was too wary to come in convenient reach, so the Captain had to forego the punishment or catch him. The dog darted off at full speed on the open plain. Captain Harney started after him. The result was a fair race in which the Captain, in a little over a half-mile, beat the fleet-footed hound and captured him, and at once administered to the wily and unfaithful brute a sound flogging.

In the winter of 1829–30, Captain Harney was stationed at Portage-des-Sioux, between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. While at the Portage he volunteered to take his

company to the pineries, where he cut the timber to build Fort Winnebago. The timber was made into rafts on the ice, and in the spring was duly floated down to the fort. While in this duty Captain Harney had his pack of hounds, and enjoyed his spare time in hunting the abundant game the wilderness afforded. On the arrival of the rafts, in the spring of 1830, Fort Winnebago was built.

It was at Fort Winnebago, during the winter of 1830, that Captain Harney had another foot-race with an Indian, which gave occasion to much harmless and good-natured merriment. We quote from a published account of this affair as follows:

Harney had the reputation of being the swiftest runner in the army, as well as the best Indian fighter. He was a strict disciplinarian, but not one of the "stuck-up" sort so common nowadays. He would often mingle with his men, when not on duty, and laugh and joke with them on terms of familiarity, and went so far at times as to compete with them in the exciting sport of foot-racing. An impression prevailed at one time that almost any Indian could outrun a white man; but General Harney believed that he could beat any red rascal that wore moccasins, and whenever he met a warrior who boasted of his fleetness of foot, he took great pleasure in giving him a trial, and always came out ahead. Only once did he fail to reach the winning post before his adversary, and that was by a "foul." The affair occurred at Fort Winnebago in the winter of 1830, when Fox River was frozen over and the weather was very cold. An Indian had committed some breach of the rules of the garrison, for which Harney, then a Captain, concluded to administer a flogging. He always believed in giving every man a "fair shake," white or red, and on this occasion he conducted Mr. Lo some distance up the river, and giving him a hundred yards the start, told him if he reached a certain point without being overtaken, he would escape the flogging. The race was on the ice, which at some places

was thinner than at others, on account of the formation of "air holes." Both men wore moccasins, and both were stripped and belted for the race, Harney swinging a cowhide in his hand, with which he confidently expected to accelerate the movements of the Winnebago on overtaking him. At the word "go" both started at full speed, the Indian doing his best to save his hide, and the white man anxious to preserve his reputation as a runner. Harney gained rapidly on the warrior, and was getting ready to swing his rawhide, when the cunning savage made an oblique movement toward a spot where the ice was thin. Being of much lighter weight than his partner, he passed over the dangerous place in safety, but as soon as Harney stepped upon the thin ice it was shivered like glass, and down went the tall Captain, sinking into the cold water like a sea lion. Being a good swimmer, a few strokes brought him to the edge of the thick ice, and clambering upon it he made his way to his quarters, spangled with icicles, and as mad as a buffalo bull. He lost his cowhide in the water, but that was a small matter, as Mr. Winnebago never returned to the fort while the Captain remained there. Captain Harney's foot-race afforded "old Twiggs" occasion for many a joke, and it was a long time before he heard the last of it.

The ordinary duties of the routine at a military post for two years, signalized by no military event, was all that occurred till 1832. We find General Harney at Fort Armstrong, in Illinois, at Rock Island.

In the meantime, in June, 1830, the Indians had some of them sold their land and removed to reservations prepared for them west of the Mississippi. The Sacs and Foxes, the Sioux, Omahas, Iowas and Ottawas, among them Black Hawk, would not consent to the sale. Keokuk, at that time the head chief of the Sacs and Foxes, had been active and instrumental in making this treaty, and was using his influence with the Indians to insure its observance and ac-

complishment. Black Hawk was informed, while at Rock Island on a trading expedition, that his tribe were expected to remove west of the Mississippi. He was determined not to give up his country, and went to work organizing an opposition to Keokuk and the other warriors who favored migration. The white settlers in the neighborhood of Black Hawk's country behaved badly to his people. They robbed and beat some of them in a gross manner. A party of white men met Black Hawk in the woods hunting, and fell upon him with clubs. They beat him till he was lame and disabled for several weeks, and there was no remedy. These wrongs and outrages, unprovoked, undeserved and unrebuked by the authorities, goaded the Indians to desperation. The project of emigration added to this desperation the deliberate purpose of resistance. Secret negotiations were opened with the disaffected in each tribe, and they had determined to resist. Neapope was active in procuring an alliance of the nations, and the prophet Watoskieskiek sent Black Hawk word that he had received wampum from the Chippewas, Pottowattomies, Ottawas and Winnebagoes, and besides that they would have aid and protection from the British in Canada.

Keokuk could not withstand the reproaches of his people, and repented that he had sold his country and promised to migrate west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was willing to part with the lead mines if he could only be left in his old village where his people had lived so long. This attachment to his country is an honorable and noble example of his patriotism. Keokuk made an effort to effect the revision of the treaty with the American Government, but without success, of course. With the strong hope that they would be permitted to retain their villages, the Sacs set out for their winter hunt in the fall of 1830, and while gone the white people came and possessed them, turning their wives and children out without a home or a lodge to cover them. The tribe encamped on the Mississippi, while

the intruders had their villages. This was insufferable to Black Hawk, and the tribes resolved to repossess themselves of their villages. They returned; the white settlers not being strong enough to drive them off, agreed that they would live and plant together. But their contact and intercourse with the whites exposed them to every species of fraud. They were debauched with whisky and cheated out of their personal effects. The lands had been sold, the purchasers came to claim their property. Black Hawk and his band refused to obey the order to cross the Mississippi. During all this anxious time he and his people carefully refrained from any act of violence or bloodshed. They were determined not to be the aggressors.

The white settlers and the purchasers of the lands claimed the protection of the Government, and demanded the removal of the recussant bands. By the treaty the Indians were allowed to remain and occupy the lands as long as they remained unsold. The tribes who had crossed the Mississippi, under Keokuk and other chiefs, returned and took possession of the unsold lands.

The clamors of the white settlers reached the ears of the Governor of Illinois, and in May, 1831, Governor Reynolds, from Belleville, the then capital, wrote to General Gaines, commanding the Western department, that he was apprehensive of an outbreak of the Indians and an invasion, and that the hostile Sacs were threatening the region about Rock Island. He stated that he had called out seven hundred militia to repel the invasion of the hostile Indians; that the said militia were to be mounted and would be ready in fifteen days, and asked the Governor's co-operation. General Gaines, who was not startled by Governor Reynolds' dispatches, for the Governor seems to have been greatly excited, if not alarmed, replied that he would give his attention to the Indians, and, if he needed them, would avail himself of the seven hundred volunteers offered him. He proceeded to Rock Island with a sufficient force, and

soon succeeded in settling the invasion without bloodshed. We give General Gaines' account of the situation:

"I have visited the Rock River villages, with a view to ascertain the localities, and, as far as possible, the disposition of the Indians. They confirm me in the opinion I had previously formed, that, whatever may be their *feelings* of hostility, they are resolved to abstain from the use of their tomahawks and fire-arms except in self-defence. But few of their warriors were to be seen—their women and children, and their old men appeared anxious, and at first somewhat confused, but none attempted to run off. Having previously notified their chiefs that I would have nothing more to say to them, unless they should desire to inform me of their intention to *move forthwith*, as I had directed them, I did not speak to them, though within fifty yards of many of them. I had with me on board the steamboat some artillery, and two companies of infantry. Their village is immediately on Rock River, and so situated that I could from the steamboat destroy all their bark houses (the only kind of houses they have) in a few minutes, with the force now with me, probably without the loss of a man. But I am resolved to abstain from firing a shot without some bloodshed, or some manifest attempt to shed blood, on the part of the Indians. I have already induced nearly one-third of them to cross the Mississippi to their own land. The residue, however, say, as the friendly chiefs report, that they *never will move;* and what is very uncommon, their women urge their hostile husbands to fight rather than to move and thus to abandon their homes."

But this state of things did not last long. On the 7th day of June, Black Hawk met General Gaines in council and frankly told him he would not remove from his lands, and further, that he was not afraid of his troops. He and his warriors came to this council in their war paint, and armed as if they expected an attack. Black Hawk had been deceived into the belief that he would have active support from the Kickapoos, Pottowattomies, and Winnebagoes, but General Gaines was better informed, and was

satisfied that not more than two hundred warriors from these tribes would be found with the Sacs. On the 25th of June, 1831, the Illinois volunteers arrived. The Indian allies of Black Hawk soon after left for the other side of the Mississippi, and the American General took possession of the Sac village.

On the day following, June 27th, Black Hawk signified, by a white flag, his desire to parley, which resulted in a treaty. The Indians had been promised corn in the place of the corn left standing in their own fields, but the corn was furnished in quantities insufficient to supply their wants, and a party of Sacs returned to the east side of the Mississippi to steal corn from their own fields, and a series of troubles began which resulted in bloodshed. The treaty was broken by both parties the same year.

Hostilities began again, in the spring of 1832, in petty skirmishes with the whites and with the Menomine Indians, twenty-eight of whom were killed by the Sacs. Black Hawk appeared with his band on Rock River, and moved leisurely up the stream, disobeying General Atkinson's command to leave the country. He said he was going to the Prophet's village to make corn, and the whites might attack him if they wanted to. Major Stillman, with two hundred and seventy men, started about the 13th of May, on a march of discovery, towards Sycamore Creek. Black Hawk sent three warriors with a white flag to meet the American detachment and invite them to his camp. But the Major took the warriors prisoners, and disregarded the flag. The flag of truce not returning, Black Hawk sent five other warriors to ascertain what had become of the men who bore it. These five were discovered, pursued, and two of them killed. The party who killed the two warriors returned to the main body and reported. Major Stillman determined to attack the Indians at once, and moved forward with precipitation and confusion upon the hostile camp on the Sycamore. Black Hawk, in the meantime, had

STILLMAN'S DEFEAT.

heard from the survivors of the five of the killing of his warriors. He had but forty braves with him, the rest of his band being out hunting. When a sufficient number of the Americans had passed the Sycamore, the Indians rushed upon them and soon put them to flight. Only forty men defeated two hundred and seventy, and the retreat was a rout.

This affair, wretchedly managed by Major Stillman, shows that the whites were wantonly the aggressors, and the shedders of the first blood. It created a profound sensation, both among the whites and Indians. Black Hawk's runners bore the news to the Sacs and Missouris twenty-four hours in advance of the dispatches to the whites. It nerved the martial spirit of the Indians, who felt an honorable sympathy with their brethren and pride in their prowess.

Governor Reynolds called out two thousand more of the militia to subdue the Indians and drive them out of the State, and a great many Menominies and Sioux, enemies of the Sacs, were enlisted in the service to exterminate their enemies.

The defeat of Major Stillman's forces opened to the settlers a scene of horror and bloodshed. The Indians butchered and plundered, and a wide-spread panic pervaded the frontiers.

We have given thus far the account of the opening of the Black Hawk war, because it is justice to the truth of history to vindicate that warrior, who, savage as he was, was possessed of a patriotism which we must admire, and displayed the highest and most intrepid qualities of the soldier. The responsibility of that war was clearly with the whites, and in every phase of its inception, until precipitated by Major Stillman, the Indians displayed a forbearance, patience and humanity that should have been emulated by the civilized foe and oppressor.

Captain Harney, off in the forests and pineries of the

Wisconsin, or engaged in the fortification of Fort Winnebago, had little knowledge of the events that were transpiring and were being so rapidly precipitated. During the summer of 1832 he reported to Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, and found the busy preparations being made for the Indian war. Here he met with Colonel Taylor, who had just arrived, with whom he established a friendly intimacy, destined afterwards to be cemented in many scenes of danger and hardship in the service in Florida and Mexico. Here he also made the acquaintance of a tall, gaunt young militia Captain from Illinois, who was noted as a genial and witty companion. At home he was a country lawyer in fair practice, and had responded to Governor Reynolds' call for volunteers, to win some military laurels, which were at that time regarded as a good capital upon which to commence life in politics. This militiaman, whose dry jokes, not always of the most chaste character, but never bad, convulsed the convivial mess table, was ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The friendship established between him and Captain Harney, formed in camp, lasted during the life of Mr. Lincoln and was as cordial as the intimacy then and still existing between him and Mr. Jefferson Davis. These two characters, in after years, got to fill a large place in the public attention. Lincoln, nor Taylor, who was at the time Captain Harney's guest, either of them had any suspicion that they should be rulers of the United States, and Davis was more concerned about his prospects of promotion ultimately to a Captaincy, after long years of service, than dreaming of leading fifteen States into active and open war against the Union. The intimacy between Captain Harney and Captain Lincoln, their stature and peculiarities, won them the cognomen among the soldiers of "the two ponies." Their congenial and convivial temper, Lincoln's wit and his good jokes, which Harney enjoyed as much in the hearing as Lincoln in the telling, made them inseparable when duty afforded the leisure for

enjoyment. Nor was Captain Harney the sole listener. He was possessed of a fund of conversation, and had a lively sense of a good adventure, of which he had had many. The personnel of the two men was alike only in being tall. Harney had that lithe, easy grace which is acquired by long service and discipline. Lincoln was awkward, and that peculiar countenance, then so full of the comical expression of a jolly joker, was by no means handsome.

In a few days after he reported at Fort Armstrong, Captain Harney was sent on a reconnoissance, and found no indications of the Indians.

Soon afterwards Harney procured leave of absence from General Atkinson and came to Saint Louis, where he had not been for over two years. On his arrival he found preparations going on for the Black Hawk war, and without waiting for his leave to expire, he returned to his command, and was ordered to Dixon's Landing, an out-post not far from the scene of Stillman's defeat. There he encamped. Before arriving at this landing, when they reached Stillman's Run, they learned that the Indians had crossed Sycamore Creek. Upon getting this information, General Atkinson asked Colonel Taylor to accompany the volunteers under General Whitesides to Ottawa, and Captain Harney was requested to go along. The volunteers, since Stillman's defeat, were very much afraid of Black Hawk, and they were so timid they could not be relied on for duty or reconnoissances. They were mustered out and another levy made, which, with better officers and commanded by General Whitesides, rendered better service. When these new levies came up, and a second expedition was organized, the Indians had withdrawn and their trail was lost.

General Atkinson consulted Captain Harney, who told him that the Indians had but one hiding place in the whole country, that it would not be difficult to find, and

that with fifty men he would make a reconnoissance. The General suggested that such a force would be too small, as the party would be in danger of being cut off, and that he should take along three hundred Pottowattomies. The chief of the Pottowattomies refused because he thought the force too small. Harney therefore started with his fifty men and some friendly Menominies. He soon came upon the trail, which indicated from the signs that the enemy were not far off. The Menominies counseled a retreat, but the Captain persisted, whereupon all the Indians left him but one, who told him he would stand by and die with him. This was an Indian with whom he had once had a disperate hand-to-hand fight, in which Captain Harney had overcome and disarmed him. In a short time they came upon a burning fire, when they returned with the information that the Indians were retreating. It was soon confirmed by dispatches from General Dodge to the effect that the Indians were in full retreat.

A forced march was at once ordered, and the troops soon came upon the Indians posted in a strong position near an old trading post on the Wisconsin River, and were attacked by Colonel Taylor's forces. The Indians made considerable resistance, but continued their retreat to the Mississippi River, where they made a final stand. They were pursued by the entire force of General Dodge. On being overtaken at the Mississippi River, the final and most desperate battle was fought—the battle of Bad-Ax. At this battle the Indians were driven across the Mississippi river, and the war ended.

Black Hawk, mounted upon his war pony, commanded his warriors in person, and displayed a lofty courage and consummate skill as a general in the disposition and management of his forces. He was present everywhere in the thickest of the fight, urging his men to deeds of valor by his own personal example and disregard of danger. But his skill and courage were of no avail, for his

BLACK HAWK AT THE BATTLE OF BAD AX.

warriors could not withstand the impetuous advance of the American troops. They were driven from hill to hill, but under the eye of their vigilant leader still kept up a brisk firing from every point commanding the ground. They were finally driven back upon the main body, posted on the bank of the river, where they made a last desperate stand and joined in one general effort to defend themselves there or die on the ground. But the troops made a rush upon them, killing all who came in their way and driving the others into the river. Many swam across and escaped, while others were shot in the water, and about fifty women and children were captured. Thus ended the Black Hawk war.

When Black Hawk saw that the day was hopelessly lost, he fled up the river and concealed himself in the woods, where he was captured two days afterwards by some Sioux warriors and delivered by them to General Atkinson. The latter sent him to Jefferson Barracks in charge of Lieutenant Osborn Cross, where he remained several months, after which he and several of his companions were sent on a tour through the principal cities of the United States, for the purpose of showing them the extent and power of the nation, and the futility of any attempt on the part of the Indians to make war on the white people.

General Henry Dodge, who was so conspicuous a leader in the Black Hawk war, was one of the eminent and noble men of the West during the first part of the present century, and General Harney takes unusual pride in counting him among his best and warmest friends. General Dodge was born at Vincennes, Indiana, back of this century. He came to Missouri while it was yet a territory and located in Ste. Genevieve, where he was respected and esteemed in the highest degree by his fellows. He was elected a delegate to the convention called to frame the first constitution for the State of Missouri. President Monroe appointed him U. S. Marshal for the State. At a later date he removed

to Wisconsin, General Jackson having in the meantime appointed him Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. When Wisconsin was admitted as a State General Dodge was elected to the United States Senate, and in all his official service discharged his duty with honor to himself and the public. He was a half-brother of Dr. Linn, a distinguished Senator from Missouri. And the people of St. Louis can still claim with pride a share in the distinction and character of the family of General Dodge in the person of Mrs. Rebecca Sire, the General's niece, a lady of high social standing in the city, noted for her excellencies of character and for her generous nature in contributing more than her share of charities and benefactions to those upon whom fortune and favor have frowned.

Captain Harney, after the close of the Indian war, was granted leave of absence for some months, which he spent in Saint Louis. Here he made the acquaintance of Miss Mary Mullanphy, who was a daughter of Hon. John Mullanphy, a distinguished citizen, who, having served in the French army, had come to America after the fall of Napoleon, and acquired a large fortune. He was a devout Roman Catholic, and founded in his lifetime, and by his will, many churches and public charities, which are a lasting monument to his name. Captain Harney became engaged to Miss Mullanphy, and their nuptials were afterwards solemnized on the 27th day of January, 1833. Mrs. Harney died in Paris in 1860. The fruits of this marriage are John M. Harney, Esq., of St. Louis, Eliza Harney, Countess De Noue, whose husband is a Colonel in the French army, and Anna B., married to the Viscount de Thury, an officer in the French Navy.

During his leave of absence he went to Washington City, and called on President Jackson. The President appointed him, without solicitation, Paymaster in the army, with the rank of Major. This commission bears date May 1st, 1833. He was on duty as Paymaster until August,

1836. While on this duty, which was not much to his taste, and attended with many risks, without any compensating chances for reputation in service, General Ashley was a member of Congress from Saint Louis. He introduced a bill for the better defense of the Western frontier. It provided for raising the Second regiment of Dragoons, of which Colonel David E. Twiggs was appointed Colonel, and Wharton Rector, of Arkansas, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. Rector, who seems to have been unambitious of distinction in that line, would rather be a Paymaster, with rank of Major, than Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, while Harney, who became a Major on his appointment as Paymaster, was eager for the appointment. As the first step toward the consummation of their wishes, Rector declined, and Harney resigned his commission. Major Harney, accompanied by Rector, then went to see General Jackson, at the Hermitage, who gratified both by appointing Major Rector as Paymaster and Major Harney as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Dragoons. His commission is dated August 15, 1836.

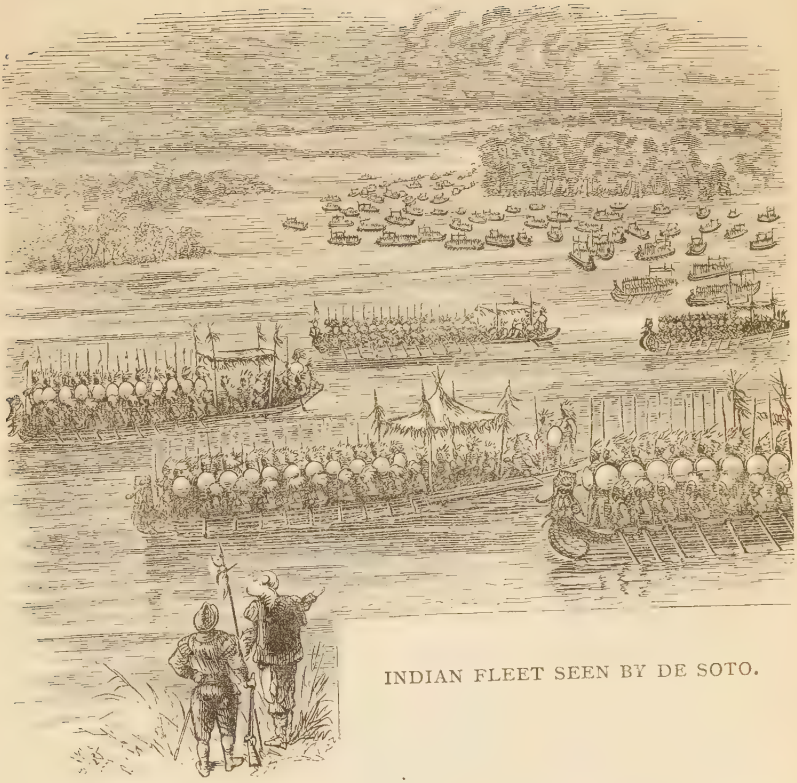
CHAPTER V.

SECOND FLORIDA WAR.

FLORIDA, the land of flowers, is a bold peninsula that juts out into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. Its southern extremity and eastern coast are washed by the Gulf stream, a warm current of water from the tropics, which is thrown from the region of the equator along the eastern coast of South America into the Gulf, and thence along the Atlantic coast. These waters, being confined to the narrow passes between the islands of the West Indian Archipelago and the mainland, flow with a current of four knots an hour between Trinidad and the mainland of Venezuela, thence through the Caribbean into the Gulf of Mexico, whence they pour out, washing, as we have said, the coast of Florida. The tropical waters of the Gulf stream give to Florida a mild and salubrious climate, and since its settlement it is sought by invalids for health and comfort and a winter residence.

Saint Augustine is the oldest European settlement in the United States, and the Spaniards, in search of gold and pearls, and of the fabulous Fountain of Youth, were its first explorers and settlers.

About forty years after Christopher Columbus discovered the Western continent, De Soto landed his expedition on this peninsula. The accounts given of the aboriginal inhabitants by Garcillasso and the "Portugese gentlemen" who accompanied De Soto, describe them as enjoying a high degree of prosperity, and in a state of semi-civilization. The example of the Spaniards, and their cruelties and rapacity, did not tend to increase their civilization, nor to give them exalted ideas of European character. They



INDIAN FLEET SEEN BY DE SOTO.

soon learned to regard the white man as their natural enemy, and from being peaceful, indolent and mild, they became wild, warlike and brutal.

The Territory of Florida was acquired by treaty from Spain, in 1821, as we have before stated. During the war with England, the savages had been incited to make predatory war against the United States, and were under the influence of British emissaries, two of whom, Arbuthnot and Ambuster, General Jackson summarily executed. After the pacification they remained at peace with the United States, and white settlements were made within the borders of the Territory.

In 1835 a treaty was made by which the tribes agreed to remove to, and accept a reservation provided for them in another part of the territory of the United States, west of the Mississippi. They accordingly sent their emissaries to examine their new hunting grounds, who reported favorably, and all dispositions were made for their emigration. But, unfortunately, Hext, the principal chief, a man of ability and integrity, died at this juncture, and Osceola, a turbulent, drunken, and ambitious man, availed himself of the occasion to excite them to war.

It is almost certain that in the original difficulties, which resulted in so much bloodshed, the Americans were at fault. The Government could not control the bad and dishonest white people who persecuted, defrauded and debauched the Indians. Osceola, therefore, had little difficulty in persuading his people to break the treaty, as they were naturally reluctant to leave their hunting grounds and swamps.

The lawless attempt of some white men at cowhiding some fierce Indians, led to bloodshed, and the Indians were soon on the war-path. The savages murdered one Dalton, a mail carrier, on the 6th of August, 1835, and committed other outrages, and the chiefs refused to deliver up the offenders to justice. They subsequently murdered a friendly chief named Charley Amaltha and his daughter. This was

done by a war party of Mikasaukies, of which Osceola was in command in person. The frequency of these lawless acts induced settlers to break up and abandon their farms.

General Clinch, then in command, determined to chastise the Indians, and organized a force of two hundred and fifty regulars, with six hundred and fifty militia furnished by the Governor of Florida. With this force he marched against the Indians on the Withlacoochee River.

In December of that year Major Dade marched from Tampa Bay with two companies of infantry and some artillery for Camp King. On his route he was ambushed and surprised, and his whole detachment, except two men, were massacred. This disaster produced a profound sensation throughout the country.

The Indian forces were composed of Seminole warriors and runaway negroes, who had taken to the swamps and fastnesses to escape from servitude, and they were as intrepid and blood-thirsty as the savages themselves.

This massacre demonstrated not only the savage and vindictive spirit of the Indians, but the defensibility of their swamps and fens, and that a mode of defensive warfare on their part could be adopted which would defy the ordinary modes of attack, and could prolong a predatory war almost indefinitely. The massacre of Major Dade's detachment, which has no parallel except the recent massacre of General Custer's command on the Big Horn, under circumstances which showed that the gallant officer himself had omitted no precautions of either Indian or civilized warfare, gave the Indians an unbounded hope, and they rallied at once and resumed their depredations, until, sparing neither friend nor foe of the white race, Florida became in a manner, at least on the unprotected frontiers, untenable to the settlers. The region near San Augustine was depopulated of five hundred families. Their settlements were attacked and their negroes were carried off to become savages themselves, and slaves to the Indians.

There were several skirmishes and battles in which the whites often got a dear-bought advantage, but the Indians were securely fortified in their swamps and forests, and like the old Britons in Wales, were not finally conquered until their ultimate translation to their reservation in the Indian Territory, where they now live, an intelligent and civilized community; and the war did not cease until the administration of President Tyler.

Florida is the Italy of America. The Gulf of Mexico is as the Mediterranean; and its own gulf, a part of the Mexican Gulf, stands on its western borders, while on the east the Atlantic and Gulf stream are to it as the Adriatic. It has the Archipelago of the East Indies, but it has not the Grecian peninsula and the Bosphorus on its east. But it has its pontine marshes and its campagna. Healthy as it is now, it was, in 1835, unhealthy to the white man as the campagna and pontine marshes were before the days of King Theodoric. In 1835 the everglades, the lakes, rivers and forests of Florida, were a secure retreat for the predatory savage who felt, and in justice had a right to feel, that he inherited from immemorial time and from his ancestors the ownership and right to enjoy his lands and hunting grounds. The forests were clothed in a drapery of moss which hung in graceful festoons from the topmost limb of the giant oak and the stately evergreen, that swept the earth. These beautiful wreaths of moss, sometimes fifty feet long, clothed the giant oak of the forest and gave a ready and convenient covering to the ambushed savage. They were called hammocks, and against the lurking enemy secreted in them no ordinary tactics could avail. He was not only undiscovered, but undiscoverable. Besides forests draped in moss, the swamps and lakes, the impenetrable inlets and natural canals, with their islands, floating and permanent, gave ever a ready shelter and retreat to the Indian who was acquainted with all their labyrinths. This was not only the fact as to the interior of

the peninsula, but the Seminoles were acquainted with the nautical arts to the extent that they ventured in their frail craft, which they handled with skill, even among the keys and islands within thirty or forty miles of the coast.

The Seminoles, being the runaways from the hardy tribes of North Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, who took refuge with the Florida Indians, were a hardy and determined race of savages. Taking advantage of the swamps, fastnesses, forests and hammocks of Florida, they protracted their defensive war for over seven years, against the whole force of the United States. It is true the Government did not support the war with sufficient supplies and troops, and divided counsels and a vacillating policy at Washington did much to prolong it, but it is likewise true that a more determined, bloody and obstinate defense was never made by any race of people. It was a war in which all the resources of the wily savage were brought into requisition, and in which his heroism and we must in justice say, patriotism, flared up, like the dying candle, before his light went out forever.

On the 15th day of August, 1836, Major Harney was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Dragoons, was relieved from duty as Paymaster, a service ill suited to his active temperament, and ordered to rejoin his regiment in the field. He reported to his commanding officer, and took his proper place as an officer of the Second Dragoons. The army in Florida was at this time under the command of General Thomas Jesup, whom he joined in January, 1837. He left Washington City, after settling his accounts, in the month of December, in company with Major Fountleroy and Captains Bean, Gordon and Lieutenant Hamilton, all of whom belonged to the Second Dragoons, and reported to Black Creek. The bravest and ablest Generals who had preceded General Jesup, Scott and Gaines, had accomplished but little in the two years hostilities had been carried on. On the 6th day of Feb-

INDIAN WAR DANCE.

ruary, 1837, Lieutenant-Colonel Harney arrived at Camp Monroe, on Lake Monroe, a place afterwards called Fort Mellon. He reported to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Fanning, with three hundred recruits, but on reporting to the commander he ascertained that by his rank and date of commission he was entitled to the command of the forces. Colonel Fanning was greatly disturbed at this and expressed a desire to retain command and win some laurels. Colonel Harney, in consideration of his age, and out of respect for Colonel Fanning, waived his right to command, and undertook cordially to support the veteran officer, and left him in the command.

Harney had had some experience in Indian warfare in Florida, Wisconsin and elsewhere, was well acquainted with their habits, and knew that constant vigilance was the only condition on which safety could be secured. His active energy and vigilance induced him to make in person a reconnoissance. He soon discovered signs of the presence of Indians lurking in the neighborhood, and on returning to camp he advised Colonel Fanning that they would be attacked probably that night. Colonel Harney also suggested to Colonel Fanning the propriety of fortifying their camp by throwing up breastworks; he urged that his troops were raw recruits, and unused to active service; that the breastworks would give them confidence and keep them in discipline; otherwise they would be liable to become panic-stricken at the first fire. His suggestions were adopted, hasty breastworks were thrown up which covered their camp, and pickets were thrown out in the direction of the enemy, with instructions to give the alarm of the Indians' approach. The troops were instructed to spring to their arms and take position upon the first alarm, and to shoot low so as to waste no ammunition, and fire effectually. Everything was in readiness, and the camp lay down to sleep on the evening of the 7th of February. A little before daylight the alarm gun was fired, and the

pickets ran in. The enemy, who had expected to surprise the camp, found the troops in readiness. The enemy's plan of attack was judicious; his right rested on the lake below the camp, and his line extended to an arm of the lake above, where his left rested. Captain Thomas, on the steamboat Santee, opened fire on the enemy's right flank with a six pounder and dislodged him, but the left and center continued the attack for three hours before they were finally repulsed and retired. The report of Colonel Fanning is full, and recognizes the meritorious and gallant conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Harney:

BREVET COLONEL FANNING'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

Camp Monroe, on Lake Monroe, Florida,
February 9, 1837.

GENERAL: On yesterday morning, a little before daylight, we were aroused by the warwhoop all around us. The enemy's right rested on the lake above us, and his line extended round our front, his left resting on the lake below. Our men sprang to their breastworks. A sharp contest ensued. Second Lieutenant Thomas, of the 4th artillery, was directed to go on board the steamboat Santee, serve the six pounder, and direct his fire upon the right of the enemy. Our flank in that direction was soon cleared. The enemy pertinaciously hung upon our front and right flank for nearly three hours, and then retired, wearied of the contest. Our men, being recruits, at first wasted a great deal of ammunition, and it was with much difficulty the officers prevented them from throwing away their shots. They soon, however, became collected, and in the end behaved extremely well. In fact, the enemy was handsomely repulsed. The extensive fire of the enemy, and the traces he left behind, show him to have been about from three to four hundred in force.

The brave Captain Mellon, of the 2d regiment of artillery, a few minutes after the combat commenced, received a ball in his breast, and fell dead at his post. We last night gave to his remains all we could give, our tears and "a soldier's grave." Captain Mellon entered the service at the commencement of the last war with England, and has

ever since remained in it. He has left no property, and I know he has left a widow and four children to deplore his loss.

Passed Midshipman McLaughlin, serving with the army, ready by my side to convey orders, received a ball in his breast. The surgeon cannot yet pronounce his fate, but has strong hopes of his recovery. This gentleman had charge of the supplies for the detachment, as well as of those for the army expected here. He has performed his duties with great zeal and ability. On every occasion of apparent danger, I have found him on the spot, ready to perform any service of hazard. Let us hope he may yet live to grace the profession he has chosen.

On examining the ground, we found no dead enemies, yet we found several trails apparently made by the dragging off of the dead bodies. We also found several belts and straps covered with blood, a small pouch of bullets, and some scalping knives. It is most probable the enemy suffered more than ourselves. It is true we are without the trophies of victory, but this is no reason that the officers whom I have had the honor to command, and whose gallant bearing I have witnessed, should not receive honorable mention. Lieutenant-Colonel Harney, commanding the four companies of dragoons, displayed, during the contest, the greatest boldness and vigor, and inspired his newly enlisted men with great confidence. I have at all times received from him the most energetic support. With the officers of his battalion I have every reason to be well satisfied. My eye was upon every one, and I discovered nothing but firmness and confidence in all. In justice to them their names must be mentioned: Captain Gordon, Captain Bean, 1st Lieutenant John Graham, 1st Lieutenant Howe, 1st Lieutenant Hamilton, 1st Lieutenant Blake, 2d Lieutenant McNeil, 2d Lieutentant Thorton, 2d Lieutenant Kingsbury, and 2d Lieutenant May.

On the fall of Captain Mellon, Captain Vinton, of the 3d artillery, assumed the command of the two companies of artillery. I have long known his great military attainments. On this occasion I witnessed his conduct and courage. First Lieutenant Davidson took the command of Mellon's company during the engagement. It could not have fallen

into better hands. I have already spoken of the service rendered by 2d Lieutenant Thomas, of the 4th artillery. He has always volunteered his services on every dangerous scouting party. Lieutenant Piercy, of the Navy, Captain of the friendly Indians, with his Indian force, fought among the regular troops; and he was always foremost in danger. He has, at all times, volunteered his services for any difficult or hazardous enterprise.

Assistant Surgeon Laub dressed the wounded under the fire of the enemy. In fact, I have never seen the sick soldier more promptly or faithfully attended to, than since this detachment left Volusia. Lieutenant Dusenbery, quartermaster to the expedition, had been sent previously to the attack to Volusia, and could not be present at the time. His duties have been very arduous, and he has discharged them with vigor, zeal and ability. Paddy Carr, the Creek chief, fought well. He has generally headed the scouting parties, and has performed those laborous and dangerous duties with great promptitude and cheerfulness.

I cannot end this letter without publicly expressing my thanks to Captains Brooks and Peck, of the steamboats Santee and Essayons. They have unhesitatingly pushed their boats through difficult channels, and unknown waters, into the heart of the enemy's country. I must be pardoned this prolixity. If I have mentioned all, it is because all deserve mention. Never was officer, charged with a delicate and hazardous enterprise, served with more zeal and promptitude.

You will herewith receive official lists of the killed and wounded. To the wounded, passed Midshipman McLaughlin should be added. The "John Stoney" is just arrived. Lieutenant Dusenbery hands me a letter from Lieutenant Chambers, aid-de-camp. By this, I learn that hostilities are to cease for the present, and that this detachment is directed to fall back upon Volusia.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. C. W. FANNING,

Bvt. Lt. Col. Com. Detachment.

The camp fortified at Lake Monroe was called Fort Mellon, in memory of the gallant Captain Mellon, of the

SCOUTING IN FLORIDA.

Second artillery, who was killed at the beginning of the engagement.

Colonel Harney retained, after this affair, command of Fort Mellon, and between the 8th day of February and the 1st of May, gathered the fruits and results of the victory. He succeeded in pacifying many of the tribes, and made treaties by which they came in and gave themselves up with their women and children.

General Jesup, in his report to the War Department, expresses a great deal of confidence in the situation of things on the 8th day of May, 1837, but he apprehends more danger from the imprudence of white citizens than from the hostility of the Indians. The citizens of Florida who had lost slaves by the predatory raids of the Indians on their plantations, seemed to regard it as the *whole duty* of the army to catch runaway negroes, and the press, from a safe distance, and secure from danger, was clamorous in criticism of the manner in which the war was conducted.

Among the results of the gallant defense of Fort Mellon, was the voluntary surrender of the noted chief Osceola or Powell, who had been most active in breaking the treaty in 1835, which precipitated the war. This chief, who has become famous, subsequently violated his faith again with the whites, and was imprisoned for the balance of his life, at Fort Moultrie, in 1838. His name and adventures have been the theme of much romantic interest, and have inspired the muse of some tolerated American poets. Coe Hajo, Tuskeneha and the Wildcat, a chief named Philip and his son, surrendered themselves. They had been unable to plant any corn in the swampy fastnesses, impregnable to all enemies save famine, so vigorously and vigilantly had Colonel Harney and the American officers and their coadjutors carried on the war.

We insert the report of Colonel Harney to General Jesup, and General Jesup's note, enclosing it to the Secretary of War:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE SOUTH,
TAMPA BAY, May 8, 1837.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a despatch just received from Lieutenant Colonel Harney, who commands at Fort Mellon, on Lake Monroe. The great body of the Seminole nation are concentrated in that part of the country. Powell will be highly useful in bringing the Indians in, and in hastening their embarcation. Nothing is now to be apprehended, unless it be the imprudence of citizens of Florida. The officious interference of some of them has already embarrassed the service, and from the public papers I discover that certain citizens of Florida, who, I presume, were unwilling to trust their persons nearer to the Seminoles than Charleston, are denouncing me and my measures.

I have only to say, in reply to them, that I can have no agency in converting the army into negro-catchers, particularly for the benefit of those who are evidently afraid to undertake the recapture of their property themselves.

Micanopy, Jumper, and Cloud, are here with a part of their people. Holatoochee is collecting his people, and will be in by the 20th. Alligator's people were assembled, but dispersed in consequence of a report that they were to be executed so soon as they should place themselves in our power. They are reassembling.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOS. S. JESUP,
Major General commanding.

The Hon. J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, Washington.

FORT MELLON, EAST FLORIDA, May, 1837.

SIR: The chiefs Coehahjo, Tuskeneha, Ossinyahholoh, (Powell,) and the Wildcat, (Philip's son,) arrived yesterday, with a great many of their warriors and women. Philip is too sick to go about, and of course did not attend here; but his son represents him, (a smart fellow.) Sam Jones has not yet come in, but was expected last night. I will not close this letter till I know whether he has arrived or not. The council which they held terminated well; there was not a man present who made any objections to the talk

which Micanopy sent them; *his word is law*, and none dare to deviate from it.

Coe Hajo begs me to say to you that he has the same talk now that he had when he was with you, and begs you to give them time; they were hurrying all they could, and if you do not push them everything will go on without any trouble. I had a private talk with them last night, and they are all anxious to get off as soon as possible; they dislike to start for Tampa before the people all assemble.

I have this moment learned that Sam Jones was at council, (they told me last night, but I did not know the name.) Coe Hajo expects his brother in every hour, and I will pledge my life that all will go well if indulged a little longer. Coe Hajo and Powell are now with me; Powell slept in my tent last night with me, and they both say that they are almost sure that it will not be more than a week before they are all on the road to Tampa Bay. He says that he told you that he would be at Tampa Bay by this time, but it was *impossible;* and he begs you not to think that he is not an honest man, for he has done all he can, and has succeeded in getting them all together, except a few who are scattered; and that they (the main body) will not wait for them if they are not here before a week. Some of the scattered people will go immediately to Tampa, and not come by this place.

Coe Hajo is encamped about twenty miles from this place. Powell is about fifteen miles from this; he will join Coe Hajo, where they will all remain until they start for Tampa. Coe Hajo wishes me to say to you that he has got strong men to help him; meaning Tuskeneha, Powell, and Wildcat; and that they all put their heads together to do business.

In your last letter you say you do not wish me to let them deal with the sutler; this placed me in a very awkward situation. I told them some time since that I would send the boat for goods for them; they begged me to do so, as they are literally naked, many of them; of course, they all expected to be allowed to purchase some clothing. I directed the sutler not to trade with them; but from the representations and importunities from the chiefs, and the opinion of the officers, I thought it advisable to permit

them to trade, inasmuch as there is hardly a shirt apiece for those that want them. The sutler has hardly anything in his store, compared with their (the Indians') wants. If they had anything like a full supply, I would have sent them off. I know that if you were here you would not have persisted, and I beg and hope that you will approve the course I have pursued.

Your idea is that it may be the means of some delay; but I know that it will not be the means of one moment's delay. They will be in the neighborhood at least five or six days, and they will buy everything the sutler has before to-morrow night. One of the parties expected has this moment shaken hands with me. They arrived in Coe Hajo's camp last night: some of his band are yet behind, but, as he has not all the chiefs here, he will return immediately for the balance. The chief who has just arrived is Tuckelochehahjo, with seventy-three warriors. I have been trying to learn from those now present the number of warriors in this part of the country; and, to my great surprise, I find that there is not less than *twenty-five hundred red warriors, good warriors;* and not including lads, etc., or negroes, who fight as well as the best of them.

P. S.—More news. The chief just arrived is Hicks; he has about seventy warriors still out, and he states that he was on his way to Tampa with his whole party or band, when he was met by Captain Bell. He asked Captain Bell to go with him to his camp, where he had a paper from you. When going there the officers were talking among themselves, and saying how they intended to secure him; that they would tie him, put him in chains, etc., etc. He understood what they said, and concluded that they intended to kill him in some way, and of course he determined to escape from them if he could; and that he would rather be shot by them than to be in irons, when he was trying to do the best he could; and that he had received the talk from Micanopy, and as soon as he could get his people together he started for Tampa, and would have been there long since if he had not met that foolish man.

Everything is going on as well as can be expected, considering the nature of the country and their numbers. You can form an idea of the numbers of the women and chil-

dren. The chiefs cannot tell me how many negroes they have belonging to them. They do not wish to turn over the negroes belonging to the whites till they are about to set off for Tampa, as many of them would run away before they could be brought in.

I hope you will be able to make out the sense of this letter. I have a great deal to say, and they communicate in such a manner to me, and so many different subjects, that I am a good deal confused, and am compelled to stop, though I have told you everything of importance.

Major General T. S. JESUP,
Commanding in Florida.

To use the language of General Jesup, in a private letter to Hon. Lewis F. Linn, United States Senator from Missouri, dated August 27, 1842, speaking of General Harney, "In the summer and autumn of 1837, except during a short leave of absence, he was constantly and actively engaged in the most useful service. During that summer and autumn, though my force was small and the Indian force comparatively large, hardly a single depredation was allowed to be committed on the inhabitants of the country —there were no Indian corn-fields cut up by the troops that season, it is true, for so active and energetic were their operations that not a stalk of corn was allowed to grow anywhere but on the farms of the citizens. If we could not catch the Indians, we kept them constantly running and distant from the frontiers."

In the beginning of May the situation was most promising. All the tribes in the neighborhood of Fort Mellon had agreed to make peace. A treaty had been formally made and signed at Fort Dade, on the 6th day of March, 1837, by the plenipotentiaries of the principal chief, Micanopy, and the United States. The following is the text of the treaty:

Capitulation of the Seminole nation of Indians and their allies, by Jumper, Halatoochee or Davy, and Yaholoochee, representing the principal chief, Micanopy, and fully empowered by him, entered into with Major-General Thomas S. Jesup, commanding United States forces in Florida, this sixth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

ARTICLE I. The chiefs above named, in behalf of themselves and the nation, agree that hostilities shall cease immediately, and shall not be resumed.

ARTICLE II. They agree and bind themselves that the entire nation shall immediately emigrate to the country assigned to them by the President of the United States, west of the Mississippi.

ARTICLE III. Until they emigrate, they will place in the possession of the general commanding the troops, hostages for the faithful performance of their engagements.

ARTICLE IV. The Indians shall immediately withdraw south of the Hillsborough. Those found north of that river and a line drawn from Fort Foster due east from it to the ocean, without permission of the general commanding, after 1st of April, will be considered hostile.

ARTICLE V. Major-General Jesup, in behalf of the United States, agrees that the Seminoles and their allies, who come in and emigrate to the west, shall be secure in their lives and property; that their negroes, their bona fide property, shall accompany them to the west; and that their cattle and ponies shall be paid for by the United States at a fair valuation.

ARTICLE VI. That the expenses of the movement west shall be paid by the United States.

ARTICLE VII. That the chiefs, warriors, and their families and negroes, shall be subsisted from the time they assemble in camp, near Tampa Bay, until they arrive at their homes west of the Mississippi, and twelve months thereafter, at the expense of the United States.

ARTICLE VIII. The chiefs and warriors, with their families, will assemble in the camp to be designated by the commanding general, as soon as they can, and at all events by the 10th of April. Yaholoochee will come in at once

with his people, and the other towns will follow as fast as possible.

ARTICLE IX. Transports will be ready to take the Indians and their negroes off to their western homes.

ARTICLE X. Micanopy will be one of the hostages. He is to visit the commanding general, and will remain near him until his people are ready to move.

ARTICLE XI. All the advantages secured to the Indians by the treaty of Payne's Landing, and not enumerated in the preceding articles, are hereby recognized, and are secured to them.

Signed at Camp Dade, this sixth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

THOMAS S. JESUP,
Major-General Com. Army of the South

HOLATOOCHEE X or DAVY.
HOETH-LEE-MA-TEE X
JUMPER X
YAHOLOCHEE X or CLOUD.
JOHN CA-WY-YA, X representing HAL-PATAH-HAJO.

This treaty was made by the Indians in good faith. They had found it impossible to plant their fields, and the season was at hand when they must plant or starve. The only conditions of the peace were that the Indians of Florida should accept the reservation selected for them beyond the Mississippi. Their principal chief, Micanopy, was to be a hostage for the faithful fulfillment of the treaty, and that wise and honorable savage faithfully and honorably undertook to observe the obligations thereof. He sent to all the tribes, and to all the warriors of the various tribes, and they came in with their women and children. Some scattered warriors, and negroes who feared to be restored to their owners in the States, only remained behind, but not in sufficient numbers to be of importance or formidable. Colonel Harney mentions, in his dispatch to General Jesup, that he estimated, from the information

afforded by the Indians, that there were at least twenty-five hundred good warriors ready to surrender.

The advance guard of all the tribes and war parties were in at Fort Mellon and various other posts, ready to move to the camp where they were to remain until transported to their reservation. The camp that had been assigned them was about ten miles from Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay. By the middle of April Micanopy and a large number of his people were in camp. Alligator, Holatoochee, Jumper and other chiefs were frequently in the camp and all expressed the greatest satisfaction with the treaty. All preparations had been made for their transportation to New Orleans, whence they were to proceed to their reservation. The embarcation was delayed from week to week, at the instance of the chiefs, who desired to collect more of their scattered warriors and friends that they might sail with them to New Orleans. Osceola had arrived at Fort Mellon, where Colonel Harney was in command. Powell had his family with him. He formally ratified the terms of peace made by Micanopy.

The commanding General (Jesup) believed the war was over and made his dispositions accordingly. He dismissed his militia and volunteers to their homes, and they were discharged out of the service. The marines were sent North, and only the regular troops were kept in places most conducive to health, without regard to their strategic importance. The War Department issued orders to the effect that the severe duty in which the army in Florida had been engaged, necessitated repose for the troops.

War Department, May 17, 1837.

SIR:—From the severe duty which has been imposed on the troops in Florida, and their suffering, under circumstances of peculiar privation, in a climate little congenial to the health of most of them, I feel much concerned in their behalf, with a disposition to afford them every relief consistent with a just regard to the service, as I feel assured that

every portion of the army serving in that quarter has done its duty most faithfully, and is deserving of the kindest treatment.

Instead, therefore, of ordering the regiments of artillery to the Sabine, as directed, you will, as soon as circumstances will permit, allow the 1st, 2nd, and 4th regiments to repair to the posts assigned them by General Order No. 58, of last year, where, it is hoped, they will repose, and be able to recruit their strength. The 3d regiment of artillery, which is destined to garrison the posts from Savannah to the Mississppi, you will order to Fort Mitchell, it being a healthy place; or should the whole of the regiment not be required for duty at that place, during the unhealthy season, it may be distributed among the health stations assigned it in General Order No. 68, to wit: St. Augustine, and Forts Pickens and Morgan.

In communicating to you this mode of relief to the troops, it is not intended to interfere with any arrangements you may have made, or may think of making, for the security of the country, or the property belonging to the government; but it is intended to convey to you an expression of my satisfaction with the conduct of the troops, and to evince to them, through you, the disposition which the department feels to relieve them as early as possible from the hardships and sufferings which they have so nobly sustained in the prosecution of the war against the Seminoles.

In sending the troops to their stations, as here indicated, a due regard should be had to their present positions, in order to relieve them as much as possible from marching through an unhealthy country at this season of the year.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOEL R. POINSETT.

Major-General THOMAS S. JESUP,
Tampa Bay, Florida.

The citizens of Florida who had been driven out by the fear of Indian depredations, and those whose plantations had been despoiled, were coming back to claim their recaptured slaves and commence again the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and prosperity began again to be promised to

the land that had been for two years the scene of savage and predatory war.

On the 6th of June, General Jesup informed the Government at Washington that the Indians who were ready to embark from Fort Brooke *had precipitately fled.* They had become homesick, and a spirit of disaffection with the treaty had again spread among them. They were unwilling to leave the homes of their ancestors, and it had now become so deep seated a sentiment that their chiefs were unable to control them. There was no choice but expatriation on one hand, and the desolation of a war of extermination—war for which they were little prepared, war which promised nothing but suffering, privation and death; but they preferred the last extremity to giving up their country. A sentiment, which was a last legacy of the Spanish owners of Florida, possessed them, viz.: that they had not been ceded with the Territory of Florida to the United States, and that only the lands in cultivation by the whites had passed by the sale of Florida to the Federal Government. Coacoochee and Osceola, the trubulent and dissolute chiefs of the Mikasaukies, came at midnight and compelled Micanopy to follow them. They had been relieved from starvation and were now well clothed, and the entire camp were gone towards Paliklahaka before daybreak. The sickly season was at hand and military operations almost impossible for the whites. The war was renewed. The fact is that Micanopy and the older chiefs, with a small minority of the Seminoles, desired to emigrate to a place where the people could have peace, but the younger warriors and the women, a large majority, never intended to observe the treaty longer than until the crops were advanced and their immediate distress was relieved. If we overlook the bad faith in the non-observance of the treaty, it must appear to us as a sublime instance of heroic patriotism. But the renewed war became of a necessity a war of extermination, and as such the hostile Indians ac-

cepted it. Dispositions were immediately made for a war campaign in the fall.

The friendly Creek Indians, who had served with such conspicuous bravery, had been discharged, and had embarked for their reservation in Arkansas. The militia had been discharged, and only the regulars remained in the field, except the Florida troops. Volunteers were called for from Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Missouri. Major General Jesup, in his dispatches to the Government, indicates clearly that if peace alone had been the object of the campaign, it could have been effectually accomplished, but that emigration from their country could not be attained. He says in his General Order No. 203, from Saint Augustine, on the 23d day of October, 1837:

"Had the policy of our country been limited to peace, which in all past history has been the object of every war we had waged, it had been radically attained. The valor and persevering energy of the troops forced the enemy to pause in his career of destruction, and agree upon the terms of treaty. If that treaty has been violated, and it has been found impracticable to carry out the plans of the Government in a single campaign, it should be remembered that more than peace has been sought to be obtained; that we are attempting, for the first time, the solution of the difficult problem of transferring a savage and a warlike people from one wide-spread wilderness to another. In every preceding instance of the emigration of an Indian nation, our population had been pressing upon them, and crowding them out of their position, before any effort had been made by the Government to remove them; and the Indians had themselves become sensible of the necessity for removing, long before they had taken up the line of march."

During the summer, and while preparations were being made for the new campaign, Colonel Harney was granted a leave of absence. He was relieved of his command in

August, and repaired to Saint Louis, where he spent the time till the first of December in the enjoyment of the society of his family.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FLORIDA WAR CONTINUED.

THE preparations for the fall campaign involved delay, but the delay fortunately only consumed the time of the hot and unhealthy weather, in which active operations in the field could not be made except at a sacrifice of health and life. But this precious time was of great advantage to the hostile savages. They had acquired great advantages by their treachery, but they were by no means in as favorable a position for defense as before the campaign began. All the country north of Lake Monroe was in the hands of the United States, and the garrisons of the posts, although composed entirely of regulars, were in position to hold the country already in hand, and the savages were confined to the region south of Lake Monroe and Tampa Bay. The country from Saint Augustine and the Suwanee, and from the Suwanee to Saint Marks, formerly in a state of alarm, was now thoroughly tranquil and remained secure during the sickly season, with uninterrupted communication between the posts. General Jesup says in the General Order just quoted:

"Though all expected from us by the public may not have been achieved, enough has been done to prove that there is no deterioration in the character and qualities of the American soldier, whether of the volunteer corps or the regular army; and whatever differences may exist as to the measures of the commander, the pen of history, guided by the hand of justice, will not fail to assign to the officers and troops of his command a high place among the champions of their country's rights and honor."

As soon as the treachery of Osceola and his confederates

had made it apparent that the war must be renewed, General Jesup called upon the Governor of Florida for militia. He organized a mounted command, with which he kept possession of the country above Lake Monroe, and by his diligence preserved the peace and protected the settlements from outrage.

He was making preparations to take the offensive as soon as the regular forces were recruited in strength and health, when he received a message from the Indians, several of whom had arrived at Fort King, and desired a *talk* with him. He immediately proceeded there, and on the 19th and 20th of August held conferences with them. They expressed a desire for peace, but declared that a majority of their people were averse to leaving the country. They were told that emigration was the only condition upon which they could have peace, and that they must make up their minds to fulfill their treaty, and were instructed to use the white flag if they had any further communications to make.

Coe Hajo, the principal chief, assured General Jesup that many of the Seminoles were in favor of the treaty, but that Sam Jones and Osceola were opposed to it. He stated that the Indians would hold a council on Saint John's River in a few days, and that he would in twenty days bring the General an account of their determination. In the meantime he asked a suspension of hostilities.

Coe Hajo did not return to Fort King at the time appointed, and the council on the Saint John's was but slimly attended. The Indians were kept in hand, committing but few outrages, owing to the vigilance of the American General, and the information obtained from scouts and negroes indicated they were short of ammunition and supplies, but that they did not intend to leave the country.

Osceola, who had gone to Lieutenant Colonel Harney at Fort Mellon and received subsistence to take his command to Tampa Bay, had not only not carried out and observed

FIGHTING IN FLORIDA.

the treaty, but had prevented other chiefs and their tribes from doing so, came in with a party, as also several other chiefs. They were seized as prisoners of war, but treated with every kindness compatible with their condition.

This effort to compel the Indians to carry out the treaty was one of signal character, when it was determined to seize them, before they could escape from the narrow limits at which they were, into the interminable swamps and make their escape. The plan of capture was agreed upon. Colonel Harney was assigned the most important position —the place where the Indians would make the greatest effort to escape—but the Colonel, true to his duty, let no one pass his way, and it was only through negligence that a few escaped in another direction.

There was a good deal of negotiating without any results, and much promising to accept the terms of the treaty and emigrate, but by the first of October it was ascertained that the Indians were assembling in force on the Upper St. John's River and that several roving bands were north of Fort Mellon and Tampa Bay. At this time of the year the Saint John's River was navigable; the Florida troops would soon be discharged at the expiration of their term of service, and the reinforcements to take their place were only beginning to arrive; but active operations began, with an occasional skirmish and the capture of some prisoners.

A delegation of Cherokees, headed by John Ross, their chief, asked to intercede with the Seminoles, and this negotiation lost fifteen days of precious time, during which the Saint John's River fell so that it could only be navigated by boats propelled by poles and oars. Major Dearborn, early in December, was sent forward to establish a post at the head of Lake Harney. Lieutenant Searl was sent with a detachment up the Saint John's River. Colonel Harney had charge of the barges, loaded with forage, which ascended the Saint John's as far as Fort Taylor.

With the beginning of the year 1838 active hostilities

commenced. On the 2nd of January Brigadier General Nelson had a sharp and obstinate engagement with a party of Seminoles near Wucusa Swamp, in the neighborhood of Fort Fanning, and Lieutenant Powell, of the navy, met with a severe defeat on the 15th near Jupiter Inlet, at a place called Elausahatchie. The whites succeeded in retreating to their boats. General Jesup moved upon the Indians at the same place with a stronger force from Fort Lloyd, and came upon them on the 24th at eleven o'clock A. M. The Indians, under Toskegee, had a strong position

LAKE HARNEY, FLORIDA.

and General Eustis, in the immediate command, made his dispositions for battle. Colonel Harney, with his mounted dragoons, was placed upon the right, and after making a reconnoissance, he found he was in a position to do no service, while the plan of attack adopted was vicious, as the Indian position could not be forced from the front. Colonel Harney crossed the river and penetrated to the flank

and rear of the Indians at the critical moment that the Americans were repulsed and driven back under a murderous fire.

General Jesup, finding them in full retreat, reproached them for falling back. They replied that they had no leader. He then led them forward himself, and the combined attack, front and rear, was successful. The Indians, however, fell back in tolerable order. Colonel Harney asked permission to pursue them, which was granted, but a severe rainstorm coming on at the time, pursuit was prevented. General Jesup, in leading the charge, was severely wounded in the temple, and probably but for his spectacles would have been killed. In this action there were thirty men wounded and ten killed.

On the day following, some Delaware Indians reported the enemy in force in the front, and General Eustis, the local commander, ordered Colonel Twiggs to send Colonel Harney with two companies to follow them. This force Colonel Harney deemed inadequate, yet he cheerfully obeyed the order. On approaching the place where the Indians were reported to be, he dismounted his men, and hitching their horses, advanced, only to ascertain, however, that the Indians had fled to the everglades, and had abandoned their camp. The next day, January 26th, the whole force moved over to Jupiter Inlet, and sent to Indian River for supplies.

While at Jupiter Inlet, Colonel Harney urged upon the commanding officer the propriety of sending for the Indians, as they had been sufficiently punished to desire peace. His consummate knowledge of the Indian character, and long experience in their warfare, led him to suppose they would treat in the hour of their defeat, and that it would be politic to offer them terms. The suggestion of Colonel Harney was favorably considered by General Eustis, and warmly supported by Colonel Twiggs. General Jesup says in his report to the War Department :

In the evening General Eustis called on me, and urged me to terminate the war by an arrangement with the Indians, by which they should be left in the southern part of Florida; he believing, as I did, that from the nature of the country in which we were operating, no permanent advantage could be obtained except by peaceable means. The General expressed the most decided opinion that the Department would approve the measure. I promised to consider it. On the 6th the column moved forward, and in the afternoon the officers in advance reported three or four fresh moccasin tracks, and stated that the trail had taken nearly a westerly direction. I ordered the troops to encamp, and sent a detachment of dragoons, with several Shawnee Indians, forward, accompanied by my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Linnard, to reconnoiter the country. The detachment returned and reported fresh signs of a small party of Indians. While it was out, Colonel Twiggs, with other superior officers of the army, called on me and urged, as General Eustis had, that I should terminate the war by allowing the Indians to retain part of the country; they believing that no decided advantage could be gained over them unless they could be withdrawn from the swamps. Understanding from those gentlemen that most, if not all, the officers of the army entertained similar views, I, on full consideration, decided to send a messenger to the Indians, and offer them peace; but I determined on no account to grant them the privilege of remaining in the country unless the measure should be sanctioned by the General Government.

This proposition, carried out in good faith, would have left the everglades, and a portion of the peninsula of Florida, then uninhabitable for the whites, in the possession of the Indians, and would have insured peace. But the national Government refused to ratify the arrangements proposed. Before the Government had acted on it, however, some of its fruits had already been attained in the surrender of many of the hostile chiefs, as stated in General Jesup's despatches.

In the meantime, just after the battle of Ebensa Hatchie,

OSCEOLA.

and while the American army was encamped at Jupiter Bay, the famous Mikasaukie chief, Osceola, died in prison at Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor, whither he had been taken after the escape of one of the chiefs from Saint Augustine. We copy the account of him and his character given by an impartial and able writer, Samuel G. Drake, F. R. S.:

"We must now turn our attention, for the last time, to the once feared, and much dreaded, and now no less regretted, chief, Osceola. We left him in prison at Saint Augustine, in November last, from which place he was, soon after the escape of Coacoochee from thence, sent to Charleston, and confined to the fort in that harbor for safe keeping, until he should be, with others, shipped for the west. But that time never came for him! Death came with that aid which the white man refused! He died in confinement at Fort Moultrie, of a catarrhal fever, on the 30th of January, 1838. The portrait of Osceola is difficult to be drawn; some have made him a coward, and others a knave; some have averred that he was but a sub-chief, and without respect among his own people; others have indignantly added that he was the son of a white man, as though their own blood had degraded him in the scale of being. It might be so. How then ought they to look upon themselves? Doubly degraded in that scale. Others portray his character in unmeasured terms of admiration; making him the greatest of chiefs, ablest of counsellors, and bravest of warriors. We affirm to neither. The circumstance of his being better known when the war began than other chiefs, gave him a celebrity or notoriety which his deeds did not claim. He had lived more among the white people, and hence was better known to them; and when a depredation was committed, or a battle fought, Osceola was the supposed leader of the Indians; and as the report of such occurrences spread, the supposition vanished, and thus arose much of the celebrity of Osceolo. Hence it is easy to see how he came so prominently into the van of notoriety. Thus, in our account of the defeat of Major Dade, the authorities then relied upon made us say he was the leader in that

wretched disaster; but we are now assured that he was at Camp King that same day, and was the chief actor in that tragedy, and hence could not have been in the fight with Major Dade. He lived near Camp King when the war began, after which he removed to Long Swamp, 12 miles to the south-west of it.

"But we detract nothing from the just fame of Osceola. He was a great man, and his name will go down to the latest posterity, with as much renown as that of Philip of Pokanoket. Both, by fatal errors, were brought prematurely into the hands of their enemies; Philip, by the rash murder of one of his own men, and Osceola by a mistaken estimate of the character of his foes."

The voluntary surrender of near two thousand Indians, under the arrangement made by General Jesup, and the subsequent refusal by the Government to ratify his arrangement, looks like perfidy unworthy a great and civilized nation towards a race of savages. It resulted in the loss of the confidence of all Indians in the whites, with, as a consequence, a renewal of Indian hostilities, which means murders and the most horrid cruelties. The news of the refusal of the Washington Government was transmitted and received by General Jesup on the 19th day of March, 1838. The Indians, by some means, received the information at the same time. Renewed depredations began in Middle Florida, and caused great consternation among the settlers and white inhabitants. General Jesup had ordered General Eustis forward, but was forced to recall him, on account of depredations in Central Florida, and send Colonel Bankhead, with strong detachments of the First and Fourth Artillery, after Sam. Jones, and soon after he ordered Colonel Harney to relieve Colonel Bankhead

Colonel Harney, with his dismounted dragoons, pursued the Indians into their hunting grounds, making rapid forced marches at night, and succeeded in surprising the hostile chief, Sam Jones, a man of unusual force of character and influence among his people, and his band. He attacked

them and put them to rout, but the Indians fled and took refuge in the mangrove swamps where troops could not follow.

While the pursuit was being pressed, one of Colonel Harney's men, a fine soldier, shot by mistake an Indian squaw. She was severely wounded and the man was greatly distressed, as they did not make war on women and children. They treated her with all the kindness they could extend under the circumstances. The first thing she asked for was a fire, which was made for her, and they placed a shade over her to protect her from the rays of the sun. They were at a loss what to do with her until Colonel Harney suggested that if they would leave her the Indians would come after her in the night. It was proposed to capture the Indians in their effort to rescue her during the night, which Colonel Harney said would certainly be made. It was supposed they would wish to come to the aid of this squaw, but Colonel Harney declared they should not be molested and that if they came on the mission of humanity and duty, as supposed, they should be free from arrest by him, and should have safe conduct. That night Sam Jones and her husband came and visited her, and on the second night the Indian woman was taken away, and, to the great relief of the soldier, she got well. Several months afterwards she and her tribe were met by General Harney and his command on peaceable terms. The soldiers intermingled with the Indians, and one of them recognizing the poor, wounded squaw, now restored to full health, called out to the unlucky fellow who had shot her, "Hall, here is your woman come to life!" Upon hearing the call, Hall ran to the Indian woman and there was a mutual recognition, and the grateful squaw embraced the poor fellow, overwhelmed with tears and joy.

In April, 1838, Major-General Jesup was relieved of the command in Florida and ordered to the Cherokee country. Meanwhile he had emigrated more Indians to the Cherokee

country than all the other officers who had preceded him. He was succeeded by General Zachary Taylor. The Indian depredations were frequent, and, notwithstanding the numbers captured and sent away during the two years General Jesup was in command, there remained a formidable force in the swamps and everglades.

General Macomb, the commander-in-chief of the United States army, had repaired in person to the seat of war. He arrived in Florida, and established headquarters at Black Creek, on the 5th day of April, 1838. On reaching these headquarters he immediately sent for Colonel Harney, who was at Cape Florida. The War Department at Washington had discovered the hasty error committed by Secretary Poinsett, whose dispatches to General Jesup do not indicate a high order of statesmanship, nor do they do any credit to his humanity. General Macomb had instruction, and power, which if they had been accorded to General Jesup, would have spared much bloodshed and been more creditable to the honor of the United States. He was instructed to pacify the Indians until another season for campaigning, for the warm and sickly season was already at hand. He found it difficult, for the Indians were already spread over the country in small bands and were committing all sorts of depredations and murders. The plans suggested by Colonel Harney at Fort King, and formally adopted by General Jesup, were laid before the commander-in-chief. Colonel Harney took the maps and marked off a reservation for the hostile Indians. He stated that a settlement could be made with the Indians, if he could be assured the Government would keep faith with them; that the Indians had been deceived, and were suspicious of the promises of the Department at Washington. He stated that he could not undertake to deceive them himself, and unless he was assured the treaty, after being made, would be observed by our own people, he could do nothing.

General Macomb showed Colonel Harney his instructions and gave the assurances, upon which, on the 17th day of May, a number of chiefs were got together, principally by the influence of Colonel Harney and the respect in which he was held by the Seminoles, and an amicable arrangement was made by which they were to remain in the country.

But the Indian depredations continued. Tiger Tail, chief of the Tallahassees, and other chiefs, repudiated the treaty, and it does not appear that Sam Jones had ever assented to it. The portion of Southern Florida intended for the Indians began at the mouth of Pease Creek, up to a branch that ran east towards Lake Okechobee, and on a line dividing the lake through the center and through the center of the everglades to the head of the Shark River, and from thence to the Gulf. General Macomb had even proposed to give the Indians the whole of the peninsula. But Colonel Harney assured him it was not necessary, that the territory indicated would be satisfactory. General Macomb sent for the chiefs to come and meet him at Fort King. The Indians were afraid to trust the whites until Colonel Harney gave them his word, and promised them he would, if the treaty was not observed, give them his ammunition and guns and three days the start and they could resume hostilities if they chose. They relied on Colonel Harney's word, and a treaty was made at Fort King, upon the terms proposed by Colonel Harney.

The people of Florida were greatly dissatisfied with this treaty; they were opposed to the Indians remaining in the country, and were much exasperated. Although the treaty had been formally ratified at Washington, the politicians of Florida were determined to defeat its enforcement. A prominent citizen of Tallahassee wrote to Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, inquiring if it was ratified as a permanent arrangement. The Secretary replied, assuring him that it was only temporary—an act of folly and indecent bad faith

in the Secretary, which not only led to bloodshed and disaster, but dishonored his Government, and impaired the efficiency of the military service at the head of which he had been placed. This letter of Mr. Poinsett, sent to General Taylor, was immediately made public, and reached the Indians almost as soon as it did the army. It impaired and destroyed for the time the well-established reputation of Colonel Harney among the Seminole warriors, and imperiled his life as well as his character. It exposed not only the army to perils, but the peaceful inhabitants to massacre and the horrors of savage war.

Immediately upon the treaty being made, Colonel Harney urged upon General Macomb the establishment of a trading house for the Indians in the bounds of their territory. General Macomb directed him to select a suitable site, and also authorized him to call on General Taylor for two companies to protect the trading house among the Indians. Colonel Harney asked for a written order, but General Macomb said it was of no use to reduce it to writing. A steamboat was placed at Harney's disposal, and he proceeded to select a site on the Coloosahatchie River, fifteen miles above the mouth of the river. He had with him thirty dismounted dragoons, which he left at the new site for this house, in command of Sergeant Biglow, and went on to Tampa Bay, where General Taylor had his headquarters. General Taylor refused to let him have any troops, and even denied him a commissioned officer. He appointed a man named Dalham sutler to the new trading post, and sent orders to the sergeant commanding his dragoons to assist in building a trading house.

Colonel Harney left Tampa Bay for his own post at Cape Florida, and on his way he called at Caloosahatchie and found every thing in the most prosperous shape. The Indians were contented and trading was going on. Two hours after he left Tampa Bay the mail arrived with the news of the letter of Mr. Poinsett, in which he declared the

BILLY BOWLEGS.

treaty was only temporary and not intended to be permanent. The Indians received the news almost as soon as it reached Tampa Bay, and swift runners had communicated it through the country. It reached Coloosahatchie while Col. Harney was there, but he knowing nothing of it, Billy Bowlegs, a chief who afterward obtained much celebrity, and in after years took the remnant of his race to the Arkansas reservation, came aboard the boat, and told Harney that the chiefs wanted to see him before he left. He asked Billy Bowlegs what they wanted, being unsuspicious of what had occurred at Washington. He concluded to stop off, had his tent pitched on shore, and spent the night. The next morning, July 22, 1839, he took the boat down to the mouth of the Coloosahatchie River and went hunting. He returned in the evening about nine o'clock to the trading house. He was very much exhausted, and took off his coat and boots. His intention was to rest a while and then get up to see how the sergeant in command had posted the sentinels. Unfortunately, he fell asleep—such a sleep as is superinduced by fatigue. About daylight he was aroused by the firing of guns and the yelling of Indians. He ran to the front of his tent and heard voices exclaiming, "Run to the water." He found some of his men had taken to the water to try to protect themselves and were standing there in the river up to their necks. The Colonel started back to get his boots and coat and hat, but changed his mind and started to the water to die with his men. He got to the edge of the water and stopped to look. He saw that none of his men had arms, and concluded he could be of no use to them. He decided at once to save himself, and ran down the river about a quarter of a mile, bringing all of the resources of his mind rapidly to plan an escape. He walked into the river and down a few paces. He then walked out backwards and up the bank, so as to deceive the Indians by the tracks into the belief that two men had gone into the river and been drowned. In the meantime a

part of the dragoons had escaped into a trading boat which was lying at the post. The men in the river had been decoyed out by the Indians, under promise of being unharmed, and were all massacred. Billy Bowlegs was particularly friendly with Sergeant Biglow, in command, and upon Billy's assurance he surrendered, only to be murdered.

As Harney disappeared in the underbrush of the shore, he heard the baffled yell of the Indians as they entered his tent. They had stopped to plunder in the quarters of the men and delayed sufficiently for him to get a start. On reaching the point where he entered the water, they concluded that he and a companion had drowned themselves rather than be killed by them. A negro who was with them and who was friendly, but who was yet more attached to Harney than to them, also did what he could to mislead them and so give him valuable time. With all the Indians' confidence in his power, and respect for his soldierly qualities, there was mingled, too, a superstitious fear that made them wary and increased his chances for escape. One of his men, who had noticed his stratagem while hidden in the palmetto thicket on the shore, soon joined him in his painful and perilous march. His objective point was a lumber pile, fifteen miles away from camp, much of the distance over mangrove roots that made the walk distressing. In the operations of the four preceding days the lumber pile had borne some part. To reach this point (that might already be in the hands of the Indians), required, on his part, all the address and endurance that were possessed by his savage foe. He had to make experimental trips to the water, to learn his location; and, if he met any Indians, his safety depended on seeing them first. He had not proceeded far till he thought he discovered an Indian, and, being unarmed, he drew his pocket knife and prepared to make the best defense he could. He did not forget, however, to make the sign of the cross and say his prayers, as is the

usual habit of soldiers when in imminent peril. The supposed Indian turned out to be one of his own dragoons named Britton. Thus reinforced with Britton, they proceeded cautiously. They aimed to reach the lumber pile. The walking was very bad over mangrove roots and sour grass, which cut and lacerated his unprotected feet. Britton gave the Colonel his shoes to wear. They cautiously reconnoitered as they proceeded. Having no hat, and the sun coming down vertically on them, Colonel Harney cut grass and turf, with which he protected himself from its rays. He also blacked himself with the charred wood left by fires in the forest, so as to look as much as possible like an Indian. Their route two or three times brought them to the shore of the river. The third time Britton, who was reconnoitering, heard a voice on the river. They prepared themselves to make the best fight they could. Harney cautioned Britton that their safety depended on their seeing the Indians first. He sent Britton down the shore, while he went above to look for the enemy. In a few moments after they separated Britton reported the Indians were coming. He had seen a canoe with some one in it.

"Britton, can you fight?" said Harney. "I will die with the Colonel," replied Britton. Colonel Harney said there were two Indians, and cautioned Britton not to let an Indian get behind him, and he could kill one of them at once, and then be ready for the other. After the arrangements for the fight were made, Harney asked Britton where the Indians were. He replied that "they were under that wild fig tree," pointing at the same time to it. Harney started to the fig tree and told Britton to keep a sharp lookout. On arriving at the tree he planted one foot firmly on the ground and the other on the shell-bank, for the purpose of making a leap and an attack on the Indians. On rising up he saw the canoe that Britton had seen, but no Indians were there. It was his own canoe. In it, if not disturbed, he knew there was a harpoon, which he used in

his fishing expeditions. He found it safe, and expressed his gratification by a loud yell, which reverberated through the forests of Florida. He was again a Christian warrior, with a canoe beneath his feet, and a trusty though somewhat peculiar weapon in his hand, and he could yet exercise the prerogatives of commander—the succor of fugitives and attention to his dead. Instructing Britton in paddling the canoe, the two paddled on until they overtook a boat load of their own men, and then Colonel Harney announced his intention of going back to see what had become of his force, that very night, even if he had to go alone. The men, though badly demoralized, volunteered to go with him, though he would not order them to do so. The night was a bright moonlight one; the worst possible for his purpose. His whole force consisted of seven men, with insufficient arms; yet he made the reconnoissance with five men and two guns, and collected and counted the dead for the purpose of gaining tidings of the living. He looked in the faces of the men and found them all but five. Goaded by the ghastly sight around him, and a soldierly desire to avenge his comrades at once, he was anxious to make an attack upon the Indians that night in their camp. Colonel Harney relied upon a surprise, and the fact that two barrels of whisky, that they had found in the sutler's stores, had probably placed most of them in a position that would keep them out of a fight. There were but five men in the party, as two of the seven had been left in the rear with the other boat, and these five men were too much unnerved to be willing to take the hazard. It is possible that the measure of the courage of these men was in truth the measure of safety. Colonel Harney's solicitude for his men who were yet living led him to shout and invite them to him. Two of them, he afterwards learned, heard him but were fearful that it was an Indian ruse to draw them from their hiding places. The sad party then left; one party was sent back to Tampa Bay with the painful intel-

ligence, and the Colonel went to Cape Florida, his headquarters.

Three Englishmen, who belonged to the United States forces, were in a manner responsible for the trouble, in that they fomented the suspicions of the Indians and precipitated the outbreak. They afterwards paid the penalty which an act of treachery always brings down upon its perpetrators. The Indians were always distrustful of them, and at last killed them as an act of self-defense.

Colonel Harney was yet painfully ignorant of the cause of the out-break, where all had seemed so happy and satisfactory, when the mail packet arrived at Cape Florida with letters and papers, and the famous letter of Poinsett, Secretary of War, for whose lack of moral courage and double-dealing, brave men in the front had been sacrificed.

Colonel Harney went to Washington determined to sift the matter to the bottom. He saw General Macomb, who asserted that he acted under a *carte blanche* from Poinsett, and yet he was unwilling to prefer charges that would lead to a thorough investigation.

The news of the attack upon Colooshatchie and the massacre, spread rapidly over Florida, both among the Indians and whites, and produced a profound sensation. It led to immediate hostilities of the most bloody character. The distrust engendered by the violation of the treaty by Mr. Poinsett, before it was violated by the Indians, made it almost impossible to expect a reconciliation. What comfort the Secretary of War, and the Florida politicians, may have found to reconcile their consciences after their meddlesome folly had produced such bloody and terrible results, we cannot tell, but of one thing the country was assured, and that was that the bad faith of the Government, through its culpable minister, again produced a state of war much worse than had existed before, and led to a new expedient, no less than the adoption of the use of blood-hounds in hunting the wild Indians in their fastnesses,

which was adopted, and without success, in October following, an expedient which covered the administration of Mr. Van Buren with ridicule, and, with other follies of his administration, defeated him for re-election to the Presidency.

It is a noteworthy fact, however, that the hounds were more human than the Secretary of War. They would not bite and ferociously destroy a human, but when overtaken would run against the fugitive and push him down and if he would lie still he would not be hurt.

The cotemporary newspapers were loud in their denunciation of the conduct of the war, and although the responsibility lay entirely with the faithless or incompetent Secretary at Washington, he was still retained in the cabinet, without inquiry or investigation of his conduct.

We quote from Mr. Drake's book again:

At length, on the 17th of May, the General got a number of chiefs together, from the southern part of the peninsula, by the negotiation of Colonel Harney, and an amicable arrangement was made, by which they were to remain in the country for the present, or until they could be assured of the prosperous condition of their friends who had emigrated. The General then left Florida.

On the 23d, Colonel Harney was attacked on the Colooshatchie or Synebal River, and had 13 out of 18 of his men killed. The Colonel had gone to this place to establish a trading house, agreeably to the treaty made at Fort King between some of the Seminoles and General Macomb, before spoken of. Thus that treaty (which was only verbal) was either made on the part of the Indians to deceive the General, or some Indians made it without any authority from their nation; the latter was doubtless the fact.

When the news of Colonel Harney's surprise reached Fort Mellon, on the 31st, some 50 Indians, who had come into that neighborhood, were alarmed for their safety, and fled; but soon after, about 45 of them came in to talk with Lieutenant Hanson, and were surrounded and taken; two men, in attempting to escape, were shot down and killed. About this time, as a company of soldiers were building a

bridge in Middle Florida, about two miles from a post on the Suwanee, they were surprised by the Indians, and six of their number killed.

Early in October, it was announced that 7,000 regular troops were to be sent to Florida, and that General Taylor had been authorized to send to Cuba for a large number of bloodhounds, to enable them to scent out the Indians. When it was known throughout the country that dogs were to be employed against them, there was a general burst of indignation; but though it is a fact that the dogs were procured and brought to Florida, with Spaniards to direct them, yet we believe they entirely failed in the experiment; there being but here and there a solitary instance of their performing the service for which they were intended. If the originators of this dog-scheme had in view the destruction of the Indians in the manner they were destroyed by the followers of Columbus, they deserve not the rights of humanity, but should rather be hunted out of society by beasts as savage as themselves, if such could be found. How much was affected by the hounds, it is difficult to tell, for long before their arrival in the country, the editors of papers in that region had probably concluded upon what course they would pursue, when *official accounts from dogs* should be offered for publication; but occasionally a reckless fellow dropped a paragraph like the following: "The Cuba dogs have proved quite beneficial. They caught five Indians the other day, in Middle Florida, handsomely." In March, (1840,) "Colonel Twiggs made a fifteen days' scout up the St. John's River with the bloodhounds. On his return, it was stated that *they were found to be perfectly useless;* all attempts to induce them to take the trail of the Indians proving unsuccessful. These and other trials are evidences sufficient to put an end to all further anxiety on the part of the Northern sentimentalists." From such statements we are left to make up such accounts as we may, of what was affected by the bloodhounds.

In November, 1839, Colonel Harney was granted a sick leave of absence, which he availed himself of to go to Cuba and recruit his health. He returned to his command May 23, 1840. The season was too far advanced for active

operations in the field. The Indians continued to be hostile and commit depredations. The campaign of 1839 had few results. The dogs were a failure, and the war was a series of petty scenes of bloodshed perpetrated on both sides. In December, 1840, Colonel Harney was ordered to attack the Spanish Indians, of whom Chaikika was chief, in the everglades. We quote from Mr. Drake's book again:

Early in December, Colonel Harney, as much now the terror of the Seminoles as Colonel Church was to the Wampanoags, or Daniel Boone to the Kikapoos, undertook an expedition into the everglades. These much heard of and little known retreats extend over perhaps 100 square miles. They are an expanse of shoal water, varying in depth from one to five feet, dotted with innumerable low and flat islands, generally covered with trees or shrubs. Much of the water is shaded by an almost impenetrable saw-grass, as high as a man's head, but the little channels in every direction are free from it. It had been long supposed, that upon the islands in some part of this district the Indians had their head-quarters, from whence they issued upon their destructive expeditions. This suspicion amounted to a certainty a little before this, from the testimony of a negro named John, who had escaped from a clan in that region and come in at Cape Florida. He had been with the Indians since 1835, at which time he was captured by them from Dr. Grew. Therefore it was determined by Colonel Harney to take John as a guide, and endeavor to strike an effectual blow upon them in their own fastness. Accordingly, with 90 men in boats, he set out to traverse that monotonous world, the everglades. John faithfully performed his promise, and led the armament directly to the island where the Indians were, which was at once surrounded, and 38 prisoners taken and 2 killed. It proved to be the band of Chai-ki-ka, as "noted a rogue" as Tatoson of old. He it was, it is said, who led the party that destroyed Indian Key, and traitorously massacred Colonel Harney's men at the Synebal. As direct evidence of the fact, upwards of 2,000 dollars' worth of goods taken from Dr. Perrin's settlement were identified, and 13 Colt's rifles lost at the Synebal were found; therefore, as an offset to

those affairs, nine of the "warriors" were forthwith executed by hanging, and the tenth was preserved for a future guide.

When Colonel Harney came upon Chaikika's band, the chief was at a short distance from his people, chopping wood, and on discovering that the foe was upon them, fled with all his might for the high grass. Several soldiers started in pursuit, but he outran them all except a private named Hall, [the same man that shot the Indian woman belonging to Sam Jones' band]. When he found he could not escape from him, and being unarmed, he faced about, and with a smile of submission on his face, threw up his arms, in token of surrender. This availed him nothing. Hall leveled his rifle, which sent a bullet through his skull into his brains, and he fell lifeless into the water but a little distance from the shore of the island! How like the fall of the great Wampanoag chief! Colonel Harney had one man killed and five wounded, of whom negro John, the pilot, was one.

There was great rejoicing at the success of Colonel Harney all over Florida; and although his summary vengeance upon some of the prisoners called forth imprecations from many, those were drowned by the general burst of approbation; but this was damped in some degree by the loss of a very valuable and meritorious officer, who died immediately after the expedition returned from the everglades. This was Captain W. B. Davidson, who died at Indian Key on the 24th of the same month, from disease engendered while upon that service.

On taking leave of Colonel Twiggs, as he departed for his expedition against Chaikika, Harney promised he would return with the scalp of that piratical savage. The steamer which carried the expedition to Cape Florida broke a shaft near the mouth of New Smyrna river, and while the Colonel was waiting for another vessel he procured from the skipper of a fishing smack a coil of new rope.

The expedition had set out from Cape Florida, and had canoes for no more than eighty-eight men; of these fifty were dragoons and thirty-eight artillery. The attack was

made after a perilous and laborious march through mud and swamps and rain. The Indians were surprised in their last fastness, and the result was the summary execution of some of Chaikika's warriors with the rope purchased from the skipper of the fishing smack. This result broke the back-bone of the Seminole resistance, and the hostile chiefs soon sued for peace upon the terms they had so often refused. With the killing of Chaikika, and many of his men, and the consequent destruction of his band of desperate Spanish Indians, virtually ended the Indian troubles in Florida.

Colonel Harney had been in the active service for three years, and his vigilance, industry and superior ability, and experience to circumvent the tricks of the Indians, and defeat and disperse them in their own fastnesses, proved him to be, without doubt, the most efficient officer in the Florida war, and the one who did more than any other man to bring that long and vexatious trouble to an end.

"The war with the Seminoles in Florida," says a historian of that war, "was certainly the most unsatisfactory and least glorious one in which our country has ever been engaged. Millions of dollars were expended upon it without any apparent result. The ablest Generals of the country, those who had won laurels from Wellington's veterans many years before, and have since overthrown army after army in Mexico, were baffled and enervated; the Government was disgraced at home and abroad; and a handful of roving, plundering savages rendered one of the finest portions of our country almost uninhabitable, and its name a fell word of terror which even now frequently lingers on the ear, as a remembrance of some dream.

"The leader of the Indians, Osceola, notwithstanding his being compared with the unfortunate hero of Mount Hope, was a kind of political Wigfall, and despised by many of the savages themselves. Most of his followers were like himself, and almost all the bands who were active in their out-

rages upon the whites were composed of Indians and runaway negroes.

"There is, however, reason to believe that the Florida war was hastened, perhaps actually caused, by the imprudence of the whites themselves. Individual license committed in direct opposition to the will of the Government, and without its knowledge, led to acts of retaliation. These in turn were revenged, until parties assumed an attitude to which the only alternative was war."

Without regard to the question of official rank, when Colonel Harney got the scalp of the great Chaikika, he also won for himself the crowning honors of bringing the Florida war to a close. His services from the time he first reported for duty in Florida, were, beyond question, more efficient than those of any other officer in the field, and his whole labors were governed by the single purpose that a trouble existed in Florida that must be terminated, and to that end he constantly addressed himself, until that end was achieved, and the national authority acknowledged throughout the peninsula, and the security of life and the undisturbed pursuits of industry and education regarded and protected. For these beneficent ends belongs more honor to Colonel Harney than to any other man, and for his services thus rendered will history make a grateful record, and the patriotic people will speak his praise along the pathway of the future.

The great soldier, like the great statesman, makes the occasions and the events with which he is connected, great, and such has been the character of General Harney. Upon nearly every event of his life he has impressed greatness; demonstrated the great soldier and the determined man; in the camp the conspicuous and noted hero.

During the terrible and perilous trials incident to military duty in Florida, Colonel Harney was compelled to make two trips to Cuba for his health. The first time, in 1840, a tendency to pulmonary consumption, with a threatening

of his life, led to a hasty visit to Havana, as a refuge from exposure and a shield of his life. On leaving for Cuba, although alarmed at his own condition, he wrote his wife in a manner to disabuse her mind of danger, but she, though far away, prompted by the tender sympathies of a devoted woman, suspecting the letter to be written in disguise, at once packed her trunks and took her children and left for Cuba, where she knew danger was crouching around her distant and exposed husband. She made the trip and found Colonel Harney at the capital of the Island. A brief stay and his health was restored, and he again repaired to the field of active duty, and his family returned home.

In March, 1841, Colonel Harney was again absent on leave until December, 1842.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

TEXAS, a province of Mexico, had received large accessions of population from American settlers. This immigration had been induced by large and liberal grants of lands, and from other causes. Not the least among these causes was the fact that being a foreign country, many fugitives from justice from the States availed themselves of it as an asylum where processes of courts could not reach, and many debtors, in desperate circumstances, forced by the hard times, had also sought a chance to make a new start in life, secure from the importunities of creditors. The settlers were a hardy and enterprising race, impatient of restraint, but preserving the peculiar characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon-American, they maintained, in a rough and summary manner, order and the substance of justice, too often without the forms. The population was sparse, and scattered over a large extent of territory. They recognized themselves as a part of the United States of Mexico, and were loyal in their allegiance to the authority of the government of their adoption.

In 1835, by a revolution, General Santa Anna became President, and by a *pronunciamento* changed the form of the government, so as to consolidate it by changing its federal character and destroying the sovereign rights of the States. The States of Texas and Tamaulipas protested against the usurpation as a violation of the Constitution, and the result was their rebellion and ultimate independence, which was accomplished and acknowledged after the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836.

During the revolution large bodies of volunteers from the

United States went to the assistance of the struggling Texans. In 1837, the Republic of Texas expressed a wish for annexation to the United States, but the latter rejected the proposal. Another effort was made during the Presidency of John Tyler, but was not consummated. The scheme of annexation was, however, persisted in, and becoming more popular with the people, was finally accomplished and ratified by the United States Senate, on certain conditions, March 1st, 1845. The Mexican Minister at Washington, acting under instructions from his government, exerted all his power and influence to prevent the annexation. He protested most solemnly against it as an "act of aggression, the most unjust that can be found in the annals of modern history, namely, that of despoiling a friendly nation, like Mexico, of a considerable portion of her territory." The Minister applied for his passports and returned home.

The annexation had been rather precipitated by the apprehension at Washington, that the Texans, too weak to sustain themselves against Mexico, and being largely an English-speaking people, would place themselves under the protection of Great Britain, and become a part of that powerful Empire. President Monroe had, in 1821, announced the doctrine, called since by his name, which has been religiously enforced, "that no foreign power, with the consent of the United States, will be permitted to plant or establish any new colony or dominion on the North American continent." The acquisition of Texas by Great Britain would probably involve us in a war with that power, while on the other hand annexation threatened war with Mexico. The project of annexation to Great Britain had many influential advocates among the Texans, among others the most popular and ablest of their Generals and statesmen, the ex-President, Houston. General Houston had commanded the Texan army, and defeated Santa Anna at San Jacinto. He was unwilling for his State to knock importu-

HOUSTON AT SAN JACINTO.

nately at the door of the American Congress for admission into the family of the Union, and was favorable to the British alliance.

General Houston was a Tennessean, and a representative man of the early Texas patriots. His career had been marked by many adventures. Distinguished for his ability in his native State, he had won both civic and military laurels. All his prospects for political preferment he had suddenly abandoned at an early day, when he disappeared from his former haunts to re-appear after years as the patriot leader of the Texans in their revolution. His wisdom and sagacity were eminent qualifications for his high position, while his eccentricities and peculiar habits well befitted him for the leader of the hardy, rough, and primitive people who were settled in Texas.

Upon the return of the Mexican minister to his own country, all official intercourse between the two countries was closed, and the popular indignation was so great that President Herrera, who favored an adjustment with the United States by treaty, was deposed or compelled to resign, and General Paredes elected to succeed him. President Polk sent a special envoy to the Republic of Mexico in the person of Mr. Slidell, but General Paredes refused to assent to negotiations. On the 1st of March, 1845, the Mexican Government refused formally to recognize Mr. Slidell, and the American minister returned home. In the meantime President Polk determined to send an armed force into Texas, and the American squadron took a convenient position in the Gulf of Mexico. He announced in his message of December, 1845, that "the moment the terms of annexation offered by the United States were accepted by Texas, the latter became so far a part of our country as to make it our duty to afford protection and defense against menaced attack." The army and navy were rapidly concentrated and in position, but were specially instructed "to commit no act of hostility against

Mexico, unless she declared war or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow." General Zachary Taylor had been ordered to take command of the corps of observation, and concentrate at a convenient point on the Western frontier, at or near the Rio Grande del Norte. His instructions were to confine his operations to the defense of the border, unless Mexico should first declare war against the United States.

Lieutenant Colonel Harney reported from his leave of absence to his command (the Second Dragoons), then under Colonel David E. Twiggs, and serving in Texas. This was in October, 1845. In August previous, General Taylor, with all his forces, concentrated at Corpus Christi, where he remained until the 11th day of March, 1846, at which time he pushed forward to the Rio Grande.

While General Taylor was at Corpus Christi, Lieutenant Colonel Harney, with six companies of dragoons, was stationed at San Antonio. While in this duty he heard the Mexicans were assembling on the Rio Grande, west of San Antonio. He determined to push forward, for the purposes of reconnoissance and the protection of the frontier, and before the arrival of General Wool he collected a force of seven hundred men. Making hastily his preparations, his officers called his attention to the want of artillery, and suggested he should send to Victoria for two pieces of cannon. This would delay the expedition and involve the loss of valuable time. Colonel Harney inquired if the Mexicans had any artillery, and upon being told they had field pieces and ordnance of excellent character, replied: "Well, then, we will go and take them; they will suit me exactly." With his command he pushed forward to the Rio Grande, which he reached some two hundred miles above the mouth of that stream. Keeping his troops in about fifteen miles of the Rio Grande, he sent out scouts, who soon reported the enemy in large force. He took with him fifteen picked men and made a reconnoissance

himself. He found the Mexican troops gone, whereupon he crossed the Rio Grande and advanced to the town of Presidio, where the Alcalde waited on him and placed the town and its inhabitants under his protection. He preserved discipline and guarded the town in the most careful manner. From here he determined to move upon Monterey, and called a council of his officers. They all opposed the project, and he was forced to abandon his purpose. But the news of the crossing of the Rio Grande reached San Antonio, and quite a number of Texans, some of whom had seen service in the war of 1836, organized a volunteer force to reinforce and support him. They, however, could not reach him till he had fallen back into Texas. While at Presidio, he collected supplies, which he left under guard of sixty men, who, shortly after his departure, became panic-stricken, burnt the stores and retreated after him.

General Wool, in the meantime, had reached San Antonio and assumed command of the military district. He sent a positive and imperative order to Lieutenant Colonel Harney to return, but before the order was dispatched Colonel Harney was already on his way from Presidio to San Antonio. The order was followed by another one, ordering Colonel Harney in arrest and placing Major Bell in command of the troops. On reaching San Antonio, Lieutenant Colonel Harney reported to General Wool. He refused to shake hands with that officer, and demanded to know the occasion of his arrest, and what charges were lodged against him. General Wool replied, that he ordered him in arrest because he feared he would disobey the order to return, and that the people of San Antonio had assured him Colonel Harney would not return under the orders. Colonel Harney rejoined, with a reproach to the General for paying attention to the idle gossip and talk of the people, and proceeding to such a grave extremity as placing an officer in arrest upon such trivial cause.

At the Arroyo Colorado, General Taylor was met by a party of Mexican stragglers, who showed a disposition to oppose his crossing, but they soon fled and dispersed. On the 24th of March the American General occupied and took possession of Point Isabel. The Mexican people displayed a sullen and inhospitable disposition not to be mistaken, and a deputation met General Taylor, who protested against his march with threats of war if still persisted in. They went so far as to set fire to some buildings at Point Isabel, which was promptly extinguished by Colonel Twiggs' command. Leaving a garrison of four hundred and fifty men and ten pieces of artillery at this point, under command of Major John Monroe, well supplied with stores and ammunition, General Taylor continued to move forward, and on the 28th occupied a point on the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras. Here General Taylor sent Brigadier General Worth with despatches to the Mexican authorities. A Mexican delegation refused to receive them and denied General Worth an interview with the American Consul at that city. This sullen and defiant behavior boded ill prospect of peace, and it behooved General Taylor to make his best disposition for war, and he immediately commenced the fortifications which were afterwards called Fort Brown. The works progressed rapidly, more than a thousand men being at work night and day. Another untoward event exasperated the American troops, and produced a profound sensation throughout the United States. Colonel Truman Cross, an American officer of high rank and reputation, was murdered by a party of Mexicans, under the command of a Mexican officer named Falcon. He disappeared on the tenth day of April, and eleven days afterwards his body was found some distance from the camp, stripped and half eaten by vultures. It had been hoped he was made prisoner by the Mexicans, and was confined in some prison. He had been, however, surprised while riding out alone, by a band of marauders; had been shot

by Falcon and robbed. Previous to the murder of Colonel Cross, General Ampudia had largely reinforced the garrison at Matamoras. The Mexican inhabitants were enthusiastic, and bitterly vindictive against the Americans. General Ampudia, whose reputation for villainy and cruelty became so conspicuous subsequently, addressed a note to General Taylor, requesting him to immediately break up his camp on the Rio Grande, and fall back upon the Nueces. He cautioned General Taylor if he insisted on remaining on the south of Tamaulipas, the result would be that arms and arms alone must decide the questions at issue. General Ampudia said: "I advise you that we accept the war which, with so much injustice on your part, you provoke, and that on our part this war shall be conducted conformably to the principles of the most civilized nations, that is to say, the laws of war shall be the guide of my operations, trusting that on your part the same will be observed." The Mexican government claimed that the Nueces, and not the Rio Grande, was the border of Texas, and that all that part west of the Nueces, formerly of the State of Tamaulipas, and other States, was still Mexican Territory. The inhabitants within this belt of land were mainly of Mexican origin and in sympathy with the Mexican government. General Taylor replied, that his instructions would not allow him to move back to the Nueces, and expressed his regret that General Ampudia had offered him only the alternative of war. He assured the Mexican commander, however, that he should by no means avoid such an alternative, but would leave the responsibility of its horrors and sufferings to those who rashly provoked it.

General Taylor, in spite of Ampudia's threat, continued to press his fortifications to completion. He soon mounted a battery of two eighteen-pounders, covering the city of Matamoras, with which, if necessary, he could batter down the place, and extended his field-works and armament, with which, if properly defended, five hundred men could hold

it against five thousand Mexicans. The Mexicans, in the meantime, were not idle, and they entrenched themselves for about two miles in front of the Americans, on the opposite side of the river. Lieutenant Porter, an officer who had been detailed with Lieutenant Dobbins' Third Infantry on the duty of searching for the body of Colonel Cross, was, on the 19th of April, and before the body was found, attacked by some Mexican marauders, about eighteen miles above General Taylor's camp. The Americans had been exposed to a heavy rain, and their powder was wet. The party scattered in the thickets. News came on the 24th that Porter and a private soldier had been killed. This affair produced a profound sensation and greatly exasperated the Americans. On the 17th day of April two American schooners, bound for Matamoras, were warned off the coast, and the mouth of the Rio Grande was declared in a state of blockade. General Ampudia addressed an angry communication to General Taylor, in which he made threats of serious result if the blockade was not raised. General Taylor replied that the blockade had been rendered necessary by the action of the Mexican authorities. The Mexicans began to address proclamations and appeals to the soldiers of foreign birth in General Taylor's army, asking them to abandon the American standard and become peaceful Mexican citizens.

After the proclamation of blockade, parties of Mexicans began to cross the Rio Grande above and below General Taylor's entrenchments. This necessitated such dispositions as would provide against being surrounded and surprised. Captain Thornton was placed in command of a reconnoitering party of dragoons. He had proceeded about twenty-four miles, when he was ambushed by a party of Mexicans concealed in a chaparral fence. After a severe conflict, in which the Americans were at great disadvantage, the whole party were forced to surrender on the terms of being treated as prisoners of war. The terms

were observed, and this engagement was the virtual commencement of the war. The Mexicans were greatly elated over their first success. They crossed the Rio Grande, and invested the country between Fort Brown and Point Isabel, threatening Taylor's communication. Captain Walker, a noted Texas Ranger, in an attempt to open communications with General Taylor, started from Point Isabel, with about seventy-five men. He was defeated by a large body of Mexicans, and driven back upon Major Monroe's fortifications. This affair occurred on the 28th day of April. Captain Walker succeeded, with six men, in opening communications with General Taylor, at Fort Brown, and as soon as that officer ascertained the enemy was threatening Point Isabel in force, he determined to march his whole army to its relief. Leaving Major Jacob Brown in command of the fort, with six hundred men, he marched on the first day of May. On the 3d of May a battery at Matamoras opened fire on Fort Brown. It was answered by the American batteries of eighteen-pounders.

On the second day the gallant commander of Fort Brown was killed by a bombshell, and the command devolved on Captain Hawkins, who made a gallant defense, being in great peril, when on the 8th day of May, Taylor attacked the Mexican army under General Arista, and on the day following signally defeated them. The Mexicans threw away their arms and fled in all directions. The result of these two days' fights was, that the Mexicans fled across the river. In these engagements Colonel Twiggs commanded the left wing of the army, and only a portion of the second dragoons were engaged in it. The remainder, under Lieutenant Colonel Harney, being, as we have stated, under General Wool, at San Antonio.

It was only a few days until the American army was in possession of Matamoras, and on the 30th of June, 1846, Lieutenant Colonel Harney was promoted to the full rank

of Colonel, in the place of Colonel Twiggs, promoted to the rank of Brigadier.

Colonel Harney was ordered, after the occupation of Matamoras by the Americans, to rejoin his regiment, to the Colonelcy of which he soon succeeded. He, in company with Brigadier General Shields, with an escort of only fifteen men, set out to report to General Taylor at Matamoras. The route was full of peril, and the escort so scanty that it was a most hazardous undertaking, as they had to pass through a country full of enemies. On their route they had to march one day without fresh water, all the pools and springs for thirty miles being salt or brackish, and unfit to drink. On reaching Monterey, he was ordered to report to General W. O. Butler. This placed him, very much against his will, again under the command of General Wool, from whom he had suffered the indignity of an arrest at San Antonio. As neither General Taylor nor General Butler had power to change his orders, he obeyed and reported to General Wool beyond Saltillo. On reporting to General Wool, he refused again to give him his hand. General Wool sent Colonel Harney with his dragoons to the front, at a place called Aqua Caliente. From this place they made a reconnoissance to the front, in which they failed to find the enemy. On returning to Aqua Caliente, he took up his quarters in a church, the only quarters they could find. Here he and his officers regaled themselves, after their fatigue, with egg-nogs. In the midst of the festivities, a courier arrived with a dispatch from General Wool, ordering his immediate return, as the enemy, so the dispatch said, was advancing. Colonel Harney read the dispatch to his officers, and knowing there was no enemy, bivouacked for the night. On the following morning he fell back upon the main body, and reported to General Wool, who reproached him with his tardiness. Colonel Harney explained that he knew there was no enemy, and that General Wool's information was false. He said

to General Wool, "If you had inquired of me, I could have told you, from my own knowledge, there was no enemy." Colonel Harney was next ordered to report to General Taylor, where he was assigned to duty with General Worth.

CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTT AND HARNEY.

COLONEL BENTON, in an eulogy delivered in the United States Senate, on the occasion of the announcement of the death of General Andrew Jackson, dwells particularly on the petty jealousies with which the military service of the country was cursed during the Seminole and war of 1812. He shows how difficult it was to get for the best and greatest soldier of his time a command suitable to his merits and ability, or to procure from the military authorities at Washington a recognition of the merits and eminent services of the conqueror of Florida and defender of New Orleans; and how it was only extorted after the voice of the people of the nation, more just and discriminating than the Government itself, had placed the patriot soldier in civic and in military honors high above those who sought to ignore and degrade him. It has been the experience of every true soldier that the exigencies of the service demand of him sometimes a patient endurance of wrong from his superiors; wrong for which there is no remedy or compensation.

It was the fate of Colonel Harney at this time to suffer at the hands of Major General Winfield Scott an injury gratuitous and unjust, if not malicious, as well as capricious. That General had, as soon as the brilliant victories of General Taylor in 1846, had earned him a reputation and rank among soldiers, ennobling as it was honorable, so planned the war that it would look like he deliberately intended to neutralize his great talents and skill and deprive his country of his best services. General Scott determined to take the

field himself, and the command in person. He accordingly went to the seat of war, and formed his plans for an advance on the City of Mexico from Vera Cruz, but so planned his campaign as to leave Taylor a most difficult and almost impossible duty to perform, while he deprived him of the means of maintaining himself, even on the defensive, at the same time that his orders demanded of him to take the field offensively.

A letter of Major General Taylor to Major General Scott, dated at camp near Victoria, January 15, 1847, which sufficiently explains itself, and is, for the information of the reader, inserted entire:

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp near Victoria, Mexico, January 15, 1847.

SIR: In a communication addressed this day to your staff-officer, I have replied to so much of your letter of the 6th instant, and its enclosures, as relates to points of detail; but there are other and grave topics embraced in those communications, to which I deem it my right and my duty to reply directly.

The amount of force to be drawn from this frontier, and the manner in which it is proposed to withdraw it, had never fully come to my knowledge until yesterday, though hinted at in your note of November 25. Had you, General, relieved me at once of the whole command, and assigned me to duty under your orders, or allowed me to retire from the field, be assured that no complaint would have been heard from me; but while almost every man of my regular force, and half the volunteers, (now in respectable discipline) are withdrawn for distant service, it seems that I am expected, with less than a thousand regulars and a volunteer force, partly of new levies, to hold a defensive line, while a large army of more than twenty thousand men is in my front.

I speak only of a defensive line; for the idea of assuming offensive operations in the direction of San Luis by March, or even May, with such troops as can then be at my disposition, is quite too preposterous to be entertained for a

moment. After all that I have written to the department, on the subject of such operations, I find it difficult to believe that I am seriously expected to undertake them, with the extraordinarily limited means at my disposal.

I cannot misunderstand the object of the arrangements indicated in your letters. I feel that I have lost the confidence of the Government, or it would not have suffered me to remain, up to this time, ignorant of its intentions, with so vitally affecting interests committed to my charge But, however much I may feel personally mortified and outraged at the course pursued, unprecedented at least in our own history, I will carry out in good faith, while I remain in Mexico, the views of the Government, though I may be sacrificed in the effort.

I deeply regret to find in your letters, of January 3d, to Major General Butler and myself, an allusion to my position here, which I can but consider an insinuation that I have put myself, willingly, out of the reach of your communications. I beg leave to remark, that the movement of the troops in this direction, and my own march hither, were undertaken for public reasons, freely set forth in my reports to the Adjutant General, one of them being my desire to place in position for embarkation to Vera Cruz, should the Government order an expedition to that point, the force (two thousand regulars and two thousand volunteers) which I reported might be spared for that service.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant,

Z. TAYLOR,

Major General United States Army, Commanding.

Major General WINFIELD SCOTT,

Commanding United States Army, Brassos Island, Tex.

Also, the reply of General Scott:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

Brassos San Iago, January 26, 1847.

SIR: I have received your two letters of the 15th instant. There are some expressions in those letters, which, as I wish to forget them, I shall not specify or recall.

You intimate a preference for service in my particular

expedition, to remaining in your present position with greatly reduced numbers. I can most truly respond, that to take you with me, as second in command, would contribute greatly to my personal delight, and, I confidently believe, to the success of that expedition. But I could not propose it to you for two reasons, either of which was conclusive with me at the moment: 1st, I thought you would be left in a higher and more responsible position where you are; and 2d, I knew that it was not contemplated by the Government to supersede you in, or take you from that immediate command.

If I had been within easy reach of you, at the time I called for troops from your line of operations, I should, as I had previously assured you, have consulted you fully on all points, and, probably, might have modified my call, both as to the number and description of the forces to be taken from, or left with you. As it was, I had to act promptly, and, to a considerable extent, in the dark. All this, I think, will be apparent to you when you shall review my letters.

I hope I have left, or shall leave you, including the new volunteers who will soon be up, a competent force to defend the head of your line (Monterey) and its communications, with the depots in the neighborhood. To enable you to do this more certainly, I must ask you to abandon Saltillo, and to make no detachments, except for *reconnoissances* and immediate defence, much beyond Monterey. I know this to be the wish of the Government, founded on reasons in which I concur; among them, that the enemy intends to operate against small detachments and posts.

I fear that I may be delayed here, or at Tampico, in embarking troops, till, perhaps, the 10th of next month, and again, a few days more, at the general rendezvous behind the island of Lobos, waiting for some of the volunteer regiments for debarkation, ordnance, and ordnance stores.

Finding that Colonel Smith, with two companies of his rifle regiment, are at Tampico, or in its neighborhood, I shall take with me his seven companies, now near the mouth of the Rio Grande, and, perhaps, Colonel Curtis' regiment of Ohio volunteers, detained at Matamoras. My

uncertainty in respect to the latter, refers to the number of new regiments of volunteers that may arrive in time, off this bar, for my expedition. I shall not take with me Captain Hunter's company of the 2d dragoons, as it is dismounted. There will, however, be horses for it here, in perhaps a week. I shall leave instructions for him, when mounted, to ascend the river to Camargo, to meet your orders. No guard will be left by me at the mouth of the Rio Grande. I give you this information that you may place a detachment there at your own discretion.

I remain, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

The conduct of the commander-in-chief towards Colonel Harney was not less unjust, but of a most flagrant character, and we desire to trace this piece of petty persecution to its origin, and then to give the details, which will enable the reader to follow it to its ultimate result, and the final vindication of the gallant soldier before the Government and the country, as also the rebuke delivered by Secretary Marcy to the commander-in-chief, for which the Secretary deserves the lasting gratitude of all who are engaged in the military service of their country.

Colonel Harney had grown up under the shadows of the Hermitage. His father had been the neighbor and friend of General Jackson, and young Harney, when only a Second Lieutenant, had served with distinction on his personal staff as aide-de-camp at the time Florida was being ceded by Spain to the United States. He enjoyed the confidence and esteem of General Jackson, who never gave his confidence lightly, and never wavered in his friendship for any one who once gained it.

General Scott had not been a friend of General Jackson, and their differences had at one time led to a challenge from General Jackson, which placed Scott in no enviable light, for he declined to fight, on the ground that "the service of the country could not spare either of them."

Jackson had reached the Presidency by the spontaneous will of the people. Scott was ambitious to reach it, and hoped the campaign in Mexico would place him in reach of the goal of his ambition. He had always been envious of Jackson, and was then fearful that Taylor's well-earned laurels would raise up another rival. He even began to perceive the shadows of the events that did place the hero of Palo Alto and Buena Vista in the chair of Washington. The ridicule he incurred by his "hasty plate of soup" letter, had made him sensitive as well as envious, for he was so impatient of ridicule that it has been said of him that he was indifferent as to his reputation as a soldier, but fearful of all criticism of his literary talents.

While he was quietly, as far as he could, avenging himself on his immediate rival, General Taylor, he took occasion to visit on Colonel Harney, as the friend of General Jackson, that personal vengeance he had feared to attempt upon his great and devoted friend and patron. Jackson had been in a position to challenge him to a fair fight, a fight he knew meant death, and his declining it had exposed him to ridicule and contempt, which he had sought to wipe away by afterwards sending a challenge to DeWitt Clinton, a gentleman not in the military service, and whose principles and education condemned duelling.

His attack upon Colonel Harney took the shape of depriving him of the command of the Second Dragoons, and placing that regiment in the command of Major Sumner, his inferior officer. This extraordinary and tyrannical measure occurred just at the moment the campaign was opening, and the extraordinary reason is given that "Major Sumner, of the Second Dragoons," was "a much safer and more efficient commander than Colonel Harney of the Second." He adds, "That particular command is entirely too important to the success of my expedition to allow me to leave anything to hazard which it is in my power to control in advance."

The following order was issued on the 22d day of January, 1847:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Brassos Santiago, January 22, 1847.

SIR: Major-General Scott desires me to say, that upon the receipt of this communication, you will turn over your command to the next senior officer, and proceed yourself, personally, to Major-General Taylor's head-quarters, to whom you will report for duty with the dragoons that remain under his command.

I am, very respectfully, &c., &c.,
H. L. SCOTT,
A. A. A. General.

Colonel W. S. HARNEY,
2d Dragoons, &c., Matamoras.

To which Colonel Harney replied:

HEAD-QUARTERS, 2D DRAGOONS,
Matamoras, Mexico, January 23, 1847.

SIR: Your letter of the 22d instant, directing me to turn over my command and to report, personally, to the head-quarters of Major-General Taylor for duty, with the companies of my regiment there, has just been received.

I cannot disguise my surprise at the unexpected nature of this order, and my extreme regret that it should have been given just at the moment when my feelings were deeply enlisted in the success of an enterprise, in which I had fully hoped to share the dangers and privations of my regiment. It was my ill fortune to be separated from that portion of the regiment which participated in the recent actions with the enemy, and I looked forward with much pleasure and great pride to the time when I should see active service under the orders of Major-General Scott. I shall not speak of the injustice which I consider to be done in separating me from seven companies of my regiment, and ordering me on duty with the remaining two. The bare mention of the fact, is the only allusion which I design to make on the present occasion, but it is proper to mention that those two companies, by a letter which I received yesterday from General Worth, are expected here

in seven or ten days, and that I was instructed to unite them with that portion of the regiment now here.

This fact, I must believe, escaped the attention of the commanding General, when your letter was written, and I now hope that he will take it into full consideration, and reverse the painful order which I have just received.

If other motives, to which I dare not allude, influenced General Scott in this decision, I have but to remark that it is natural that he should select those officers from whom he might expect a hearty co-operation; but that to accomplish this I do not believe he would do an act of injustice, and if my recent conduct can be taken as an earnest of my endeavors to further his views to the fullest extent, that I can appeal to it with the greatest confidence.

I have turned over my command, and should it not be deemed expedient to change the order under consideration, I have to request that I may be informed at what point I may find the head-quarters of Major-General Taylor.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Colonel 2d Dragoons.

Lieut. H. L. Scott,
A. A. A. G. Head-quarters of the Army.

General Scott, by his Adjutant General, replied as follows:

Head-quarters of the Army,
Brassos Santiago, January 24, 1847.

Sir: Your communication of the 23d instant, relative to your command, was this morning received, through Brevet Brigadier General Worth, and I am directed by Major-General Scott to reply as follows:

When he made his arrangements, which now cannot be changed, to give Major Sumner the command of the regular cavalry called for by him (Major-General Scott) from the army under the immediate command of Major-General Taylor, he (Major-General Scott) expected the detachments would be made up, in nearly equal parts, from the 1st and 2d dragoons.

Besides the squadron of the 2d, with Major-General Taylor, who, probably, will be back at Monterey to-day or

to-morrow, Captain Hunter's company of the same regiment is to be soon mounted, and to return to the orders of General Taylor. That general, it is presumed, (though Major-General Scott has not given, and does not expect to give any order on the subject,) may, probably, unite the two companies of the 1st, with the three of the 2d, all of which which will be under his command, and, also, a sixth company, (2d dragoons,) soon expected out under Lieutenant Sibley.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. L. SCOTT.
A. A. A. G.

To Colonel W. S. HARNEY,
2d Dragoons.

Upon the receipt of this last letter General Harney, who had turned over his command to Major Sumner, immediately resumed command and addressed General Scott the following:

MATAMORAS, *Mexico, January 25, 1847.*

SIR: Your communication of the 24th instant was received last night, and I hasten to return a reply.

In my letter of the 23d I endeavored to explain my position, and to disabuse the mind of Major General-Scott, in relation to any preconceived views he may have formed to my prejudice. It was humiliating to do so, but I deemed it my duty, in the present state of affairs, to make any reasonable sacrifice to preserve harmony, and to enable me to accompany this portion of my regiment into the field. Your reply has disappointed me; if not a revocation of your order, I at least expected that some good and sufficient reason would be given for depriving me of my regiment, or that reparation would be made to me for it in another quarter; with this view I relinquished my command. By your letter referred to, you have not only deprived me of my regiment, but you have placed my junior, the Major of my own regiment, in command of it; and the imaginary command, to which you have been pleased to allude, I consider as entirely inadequate to the one you would force me to relinquish, even should it ever be brought into existence. If General Scott does not deem me capable

of discharging my appropriate duties, he may arrest, but he shall not unresistingly degrade me. It is painful to be driven to this alternative. I have endeavored to avoid the issue; it has been forced on me, and I must abide the judgment of my peers. As long as I am a Colonel, I shall claim the command of my regiment: it is a right which I hold by my commission and the laws of the land, and no authority short of the President of the United States can legally deprive me of it. In adopting this course, I feel that I am not only defending my own, but the rights of every officer of the army. It is true, another course is open to me, but it is well known by your presence with the army that an important expedition against the enemy is at hand, and my desire to participate in it will not allow me to await redress by an appeal to higher authority. It is in full view of all the consequences in which I may be involved, that I have taken this step. I do it with no desire to show a spirit of insubordination, but because I believe my honor and my character as a soldier involved in the issue. I have no hope that anything I may say will alter your determination: to discuss the subject further would be useless, and I have only to add, that I have assumed the command of my regiment, and will accompany it to the mouth of the river.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Colonel 2d Dragoons.

Major General WINFIELD SCOTT,
Commander-in-Chief U. S. Army.

Charges were preferred by General Worth, and Colonel Harney was placed in arrest and a court-martial ordered:

Charges and specifications preferred against Colonel W. S. Harney, of the 2d regiment of dragoons.

CHARGE.

Disobedience of orders and insubordinate conduct.

Specification 1st. In this, that Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, having been instructed by Major General Scott, commanding the army, in an official com-

munication bearing date Brassos Santiago, 22d January, 1847, "to relinquish the command of that portion of his, the said Colonel Harney's regiment, which had reached Matamoras, and then to repair to the head-quarters of, and personally to report to, Major General Taylor," did fail to set out as instructed as aforesaid.

Specification 2d. In this, that the said Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, did, after having relinquished the command of the troops aforesaid, as instructed as aforesaid, resume the command of the same; and that, after receiving the reiterated orders of Major General Scott, dated Brassos Santiago, January 24, 1847, and in defiance of such repeated orders.

This, near Matamoras, Mexico, on or about the 25th January, 1847.

Testimony.—Written instructions of General Scott, dated 22d and 24th January, 1847. Colonel Harney's letters in acknowledgment and reply, dated January 23d, and January 25th, 1847.

By order of General Worth:

J. C. PEMBERTON,
First Lieutenant, A. A. A. General.

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Brassos, Santiago, January 28, 1847.

SIR: Major-General Scott has just received a charge, with two specifications against you, signed by order of Brigadier General Worth; a copy of which I herewith enclose.

Considering your well known and long continued personal hostility to Major-General Scott, and that it may, however erroneously, be supposed that a reciprocal feeling has been generated on his part; and considering the perfect confidence that all may entertain in the honor and impartiality of our officers generally and almost universally, I am instructed by Major General Scott to say, you may, if done promptly, select yourself, from the officers near at hand, any seven, nine, eleven, or thirteen, to compose the court for your trial on that charge and its specifications, and that he, Major-General Scott, will immediately order them to assemble accordingly.

As the troops in this neighborhood will be required to commence embarking, on arrival of the transports, now hourly expected for them, a list of the officers to compose the court, signed by your hand, is expected by the return of the bearer, and that he will be instructed to wait for such list two hours only.

I enclose, to facilitate your action, a list of the officers for court-martial duty at camp Palo Alto, from whom you are at liberty to select, as well as from the officers of the 2d dragoons, regiment of mounted riflemen, and infantry, at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. L. SCOTT,
A. A. A. General.

To which Colonel Harney replied:

CAMP PAGE, TEXAS,
January 28, 1847.

SIR: I feel deeply indebted to Major-General Scott, for his magnanimity in allowing me to select the members of my court, but there are many reasons why I should decline this privilege. It is sufficient that I regard the charge on which I am to be tried as involving a general principle, which shall not be decided by a court of my friends, or persons from whom I should look for favor, but by impartial judges who are to render judgment in a case where the rights of all are concerned. Wholly concurring in the views entertained by Major General Scott, "in the honor of our officers generally and almost universally," I leave with him the entire selection of the court, requesting to be excluded the first and third officers named on the list which you enclosed. In regard to the feelings of personal hostility alluded to by Major General Scott, I am not aware that any act of mine can indicate such a feeling towards General Scott, so clearly as his own attempt to remove me from my proper command will evince in the estimation of all.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM S. HARNEY,
Colonel 2d Dragoons.

Lieutenant H. L. SCOTT, *A. D. C.*

A court-martial, of which Colonel Clarke was Judge Advocate, was convened. The Court made the following finding, which was published in General Orders:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Brassos Santiago, February 2, 1847.

1. At a general court martial convened at or near the mouth of the Rio Grande, pursuant to general orders No. 5, of the 28th ult., and of which Colonel N. S. Clarke, 6th Infantry, is president, was tried Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, on the following charge and specifications:

Charge.—Disobedience of orders and insubordinate conduct.

Specification first. In this, that Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, having been instructed by Major General Winfield Scott, commanding the army, in an official communication bearing date Brassos Santiago, 22d January, 1847, to relinquish the command of that portion of his (the said Colonel Harney's) regiment which had reached Matamoras, and then to repair to the head-quarters of, and personally report to, Major General Taylor, did fail to set out as instructed as aforesaid.

Specification Second. In this, that the said Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, did, after having relinquished the command of the troops aforesaid, as instructed as aforesaid, resume the command of the same, and *that*, after receiving the reiterated orders of Major General Scott, dated Brassos Santiago, January 24, 1847, and in defiance of such repeated orders. This near Matamoras, Mexico, on or about the 25th of January, 1847.

To which the accused pleaded as follows:

To the first specification, "GUILTY."

To the second specification, "GUILTY."

To the charge, "GUILTY, except the words '*and insubordinate conduct.*'"

The court, after deliberation on the testimony adduced, find the accused, Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d dragoons, as follows:

Of the first specification, confirm his plea, *guilty*.

Of the second specification, confirm his plea, *guilty*.

Of the charge, confirm his plea, *guilty* of disobedience of orders, *not guilty* of insubordinate conduct.

Sentence.—And the court do, therefore, sentence the said Colonel W. S. Harney, 2d regiment of dragoons, "*to be reprimanded in general orders.*"

"The court, in awarding this mild sentence, is moved by the belief that the accused has acted under the impression that he could not legally be ordered, against his consent, to separate himself from the principal portion of his regiment; and while he has, in the belief of the court, been influenced by a laudable desire to lead his regiment into battle, he has overlooked the paramount importance, especially with an army in the field, of an immediate and an unhesitating obedience to orders."

2. The general-in-chief approves the sentence in this case, which he remits.

3. The general court martial, of which Colonel Clarke is president, is dissolved.

4. Colonel Harney, therefore, is released from arrest, and will proceed to execute the instructions which he received from the general-in-chief on the 24th ultimo.

By command of Major General Scott.

H. L. SCOTT,
A. A. A. G.

The papers and documents were transmitted to the Secretary of War, who rebuked the commander-in-chief in the following letter:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, February 29, 1847.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 28th ultimo, (No. 8,) with the enclosures, numbered from 1 to 6, inclusive, in relation to the arrest of Colonel W. S. Harney. These papers have been submitted to the President, and I am directed by him to say that he regrets the occurrence. Recognizing, as he does to the fullest extent, your rights as commanding general in the field, and disposed to sustain you in the ample exercise of them, he is not at liberty, as commander-in-chief, to overlook the consideration that the officers under you have their rights, which it is equally his duty to sustain.

In the case as you have presented it, he does not discover a sufficient cause for the order depriving Colonel Harney of the command which appropriately belonged to him, and devolving it upon his inferior in rank. Without intending to approve of the conduct of Colonel Harney in disobeying your orders, the President deems it proper to apprise you of his opinion that Colonel Harney had good cause to complain of that order, as derogatory to his rights, and he hopes that the matter has been reconsidered by you, and that the Colonel has been restored to his appropriate command.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Major General WINFIELD SCOTT,
Commanding the Army of the U. S. in Mexico.

On the 24th day of February, 1847, General Scott wrote to the Secretary of War, covering nine closely printed pages of executive document number 59, first session of 30th Congress. It was full of complaints and absurdities, containing a poetic quotation or two, and indicated a *cacoethes scribendi* fit on him. This letter deserves to be analyzed, as an instance of how childish a great soldier can become, when he gives way to a pedantic vanity for writing, and combines it with an unreined political ambition, unworthy his great office. In regard to his complaints as to the case of Colonel Harney, in which the very sentence of the whole court martial, his own remission of the sentence, and his restoration of Colonel Harney to his command, which he had compelled him to turn over to an officer junior in rank, junior in years, and of less experience and distinguished service, had of itself condemned him and vindicated Colonel Harney.

The extract from the Secretary's reply is a fine specimen of irony and sarcasm, but never transcends or sinks below the dignity and decorum of official intercourse between a Cabinet Minister and an officer of the State. It

is found in executive document 59, 1st session 30th Congress, pages 16 and 17:

No man has more reason than yourself to rejoice that no order emanated from Washington, though requested by you, which would have further impaired the efficiency of General Taylor's command in the crisis that then awaited him.

My letter of the 22d of February, conveying the President's views in regard to your order depriving Colonel Harney of his appropriate command, is severely arraigned by you as offensive, both in manner and matter.

The facts in relation to this case of alleged grievance are now before the public, and a brief allusion to them will place the transaction in its true light. Under your orders Colonel Harney had brought seven companies of his regiment, the 2d Dragoons, from Monterey to the Brassos, to be under your immediate command; and two others, being all of the regiment in Mexico, were expected to follow within a few days. In the midst of his high hopes and ardent desires for active service, you took from him the command of his own regiment, devolved it on one of his junior officers, and ordered him back to General Taylor's line, to look for what was not inappropriately denominated "an imaginary command." Outraged in his feelings and injured in his rights, he respectfully remonstrated; his appeal to your sense of justice was unavailing. Neither to this gallant officer, nor to the President, did you assign any sufficient or even plausible reason for this extraordinary proceeding. The whole army, I believe, and the whole country, where the transaction became known, entertained but one opinion on the subject, and that was, that you had inflicted an injury and an outrage upon a brave and meritorious officer. This interposition you have made a grave matter of accusation against the head of the War Department, and have characterized it as a censure and a rebuke. It may imply both, and still, being merited, may leave you without a pretense for complaint. The President, after alluding to his duty to sustain the rights of the officers under your command, as well as your own rights, informed you that he did not discover in the case, as you had pre-

sented it, sufficient cause for such an order; that, in his opinion, Colonel Harney had a just cause to complain, and that he hoped the matter had been reconsidered by you, and the Colonel restored to his appropriate command. Your own subsequent course in this case demonstrates the unreasonableness of your complaint, and vindicates the correctness of the President's proceedings. You had really rebuked and censured your own conduct, for even before you had received the President's views, you had, as he hoped you would, reconsidered the matter, become convinced of your error, reversed your own order, and restored Colonel Harney to his command; thus giving the strongest evidence in favor of the propriety and correctness of all the President had done in the case. I give you too much credit for steadiness of purpose, to suspect that you retraced your steps from mere caprice, or for any other cause than a conviction that you had fallen into error. After the matter had thus terminated, it appears unaccountable to me that you, who above all others should wish it to pass into oblivion, have again called attention to it by making it an item in your arraignment of the War Department.

You struggle in vain to vindicate your course in this case, by referring to your own acts in the campaign of 1814. You then sent away, as you allege, against their wishes, "three senior field officers, of as many regiments, who were infirm, uninstructed, and inefficient, in favor of three juniors, and with the subsequent approbation of Major General Brown and the head of the War Department." This precedent does not, in my judgment, change the aspect of the present case. Colonel Harney was not "infirm, uninstructed, and inefficient;" you did not assign, and in deference to the known opinion of the army and country, you did not venture to assign that reason for deposing him. I do not understand the force of your logical deduction, that, because you, on a former occasion, had deprived officers under you of their commands, for good and sufficient reasons, with subsequent approval, you may now, and at any time, do the same thing, without any reason whatever; and if the President interposes to correct the procedure, you have a just cause to complain of an indignity, and a right to arraign the War Department.

As your animadversion upon the tone of my letter is, probably, not a blow aimed at a much more conspicuous object, to be reached through me, I ought, perhaps, to pass it without notice. On revision of that letter, I cannot perceive that it is not entirely respectful in manner and language. The views of the President are therein confidently expressed, because they were confidently entertained. It seems to be admitted by you that, "if dictated to the greenest general of the recent appointments," the letter would not have been exceptionable. I was not aware that it was my duty to modify and graduate my style, so as to meet, according to your fastidious views, the various degrees of greenness and ripeness of the generals, to whom I am required to convey the orders of the President; and for any such defect in my official communications, I have no apology to offer.

The same letter from Secretary Marcy calls attention to the illiberal and unjust manner in which the commander-in-chief had treated General Taylor, whom he had gotten to regard, and very justly, as a rival candidate for the Presidency. Not that Taylor was a demagogue and looking beyond his duty as a soldier to his country, but that the people had already, in their own minds, determined to call him to that high office.

The hostility of General Scott to Harney manifested itself at a very early period, and when the latter was only a Lieutenant, stationed with his company at Bellefontaine, Mo. This hostility doubtless grew out of the following incident:

While in the first Florida war, Lieutenant Harney was assigned to duty for a short time as aide-de-camp to General Gaines. During his service in this capacity, a warm attachment was formed between the Lieutenant and the General. Not long afterwards, a new commander-in-chief of the army was to be appointed in place of Macomb. Generals Gaines and Scott were the two formidable aspirants for the place. The officers of the army freely discussed the merits of the two Generals, and each determined

upon his preference. Before the appointment was made, Harney and Worth, who were stopping at the same hotel in New York City, met one day on the steps of the hotel, and entered into conversation upon the subject of the relative merits of Scott and Gaines for the office of commander-in-chief of the army. Worth advocated the claims of Scott, while Harney was the warm friend of Gaines. They both grew warm in the discussion, and General Worth turned directly to Lieutenant Harney and said, "By g—d, sir, I hope General Scott will succeed." Whereupon Harney, in great heat, and with his face in close proximity to the face of Worth, said with great emphasis, "By g—d, sir, I hope General Gaines will succeed."

Scott succeeded to the command of the army, and whether General Worth told Scott of Lieutenant Harney's greater admiration of General Gaines, is not known, but on meeting at Bellefontaine Scott issued an order that was unjust to Harney, and to which the Lieutenant positively objected. Members of Scott's staff, however, endeavored to explain to Harney that, while the order was a mistake, it was general in its character, and did not apply personally to him, but to all the officers.

This explanation served as a partial reconciliation of Lieutenant Harney, but subsequent events seem to afford evidence that there was engendered in Scott a hostility to Harney, which now and then, in after years, manifested itself in official relations between these two distinguished men. Scott hated Jackson, while Harney was the pet and friend of Old Hickory. Harney affiliated with the Democratic party when he stepped outside of military duty, which he rarely did; Scott was a Whig, and was zealous in the promotion of the principles of that party.

CHAPTER IX.

MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

AFTER being court martialed and restored to his proper command, Colonel Harney marched with parts of the first and second dragoons and reported to General Twiggs for active duty in the field. The order restoring him to his command is dated February 3, 1847, and is as follows:

Lieutenant H. L. Scott, A. A. A. General, to Brigadier General W. J. Worth:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Brassos Santiago, February, 3, 1847.

SIR: I enclose, herewith, a letter for Colonel Wm. S. Harney, 2d dragoons, and I am instructed by the general-in-chief to say, that you will, upon assigning Colonel Harney to the command of the dragoons, disassociate the cavalry and rifles, and say, "Major Sumner will continue in the command of the rifles until the regiment shall be united under its colonel."

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. L. SCOTT,
A. A. A. General.

The troops embarked on transports at the mouth of the Rio Grande River, and proceeded to the island of Lobos, where they joined the other fleet of transports, carrying the main body of General Scott's army, who had rendezvoused there.

On their way the transport Yazoo was stranded at San Lizardo, with Colonel Harney and one troop of cavalry on board. It resulted in the loss of ten horses, but no men. Among the horses on board were those belonging to Col-

onel Harney. One of them, Buncombe, his favorite horse for hard service, was in the sea twenty-four hours, and finally got safely ashore.

A MEXICAN FANDANGO.

On the morning of the 7th of March, 1847, General Scott reconnoitered the city of Vera Cruz, for the purpose of

finding a convenient spot for landing his army. Vera Cruz is the seaport for the City of Mexico. It is situated on the Gulf of Mexico, on the mainland on the eastern shore, and in latitude 20 deg. south, and about 190 deg. west longitude from Washington. The city is well fortified, and protected by the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, a strong fortification situated on an island just off the coast. The harbor or roadstead is subject to extreme north winds, and is a perilous place for shipping at best. There is also on the southwestern extremity of the city, at the mouth of a small stream, another small fortification known as Fort Santiago. The Island of Sacrificios lies southwest of the castle, and in the channel between San Juan d'Ulloa and the mainland. There was not anchorage for such a large fleet, and the troops were on the morning of the 9th removed to the ships-of-war. Near Sacrificios the landing was effected. The enemy, not anticipating a landing at that point, had not made proper dispositions to prevent it. Two steamers and four gunboats covered the landing, and five thousand five hundred men were embarked in surf-boats, which safely reached the shore. They planted the American standard on the soil of the Aztecs, and in full view of the city. The first division of troops landed a little before sunset, the two other divisions followed after night-fall. It was here that over three hundred years before, Hernando Cortez had landed with his adventurous Spaniards. There was no blood spilled and no casualities to mention in effecting this landing. It was in itself a masterpiece in its design and in its execution. Although the landing was not opposed by any troops, yet the guns from the castle and the city poured into the American troops constant broadsides of shot and shell. The city was soon invested, so complete and perfect was General Scott's information of the topography that he had already given orders for each corps and regiment and assigned each one its duty. By the 12th of March the city was in a state of siege. The

troops had, with great labor, transported their stores and supplies through the chaparral and sand without the aid of carts and wagons, horses and mules, which had not yet been landed. There were occasional skirmishes with the enemy while these dispositions were being made. The lines were five miles in length. It was not until the 17th that ten mortars and four twenty-four-pound guns were landed, and on the night of the 18th the trenches were opened and the engineers, with sappers and miners, began the approaches to the city. On the 22d, the ten-inch mortars being in battery, the American General summoned the city to surrender. The Governor, construing the summons to mean the surrender of the castle, as well as the city, refused. On the return of the flag of truce, the mortar battery opened fire on the city. Other heavy ordnance having arrived on the 24th, the fire was very active on the 25th. The scene in the night was terrifically grand, as the castle returned the fire of the besiegers. On the evening of the 25th, the Consuls of the foreign powers residing at Vera Cruz sent a memorial to General Scott for a flag of truce to enable them to retire from the city with the women and children. General Scott replied that a truce could only be granted on application of General Morales, the Governor, with a view to surrender, and that he had previously offered safeguards to the foreign Consuls, which they had refused to take advantage of.

It was plain to the besieged that the city must surrender or be destroyed. Accordingly, General Landero, in command of the city, made overtures of surrender. General Scott had, in the meantime, made arrangements to carry the city by assault. Upon receiving the Mexican flag of truce, Generals Worth and Pillow and Colonel Totten were sent to meet the Mexican commissioners. The articles of capitulation were signed on the night of the 27th, and on the 29th the American flag floated over both castle and city after a siege of only fifteen days. Five thousand

prisoners were paroled, and five hundred pieces of artillery, with munitions, arms and stores were the fruits of this victory. General Worth was placed in command of Vera Cruz, and the commander-in-chief prepared to march upon the capital.

Pending the siege the troops in the trenches were partially supplied with provisions from the country in the rear. There were some French gardeners on the Madellin River, some nine miles south-west of Vera Cruz. A strong detachment of Mexican troops took position at a bridge and intercepted the supplies which the people were willing to sell the American troops. General Harney was, as we have said, in command of a portion of the 1st and 2nd Dragoons belonging to Twiggs' division. After much solicitation, and after a delegation of French citizens had stated they could supply the army with vegetables so much needed to prevent scurvy, which had already begun to appear, General Scott ordered Colonel Harney to make a reconnoissance in force, and to ascertain the strength and position of the enemy on the Madellin. He was ordered only to reconnoiter, and by no means to engage them. The Colonel performed his duty so well that in reconnoitering he provoked them to fire on him, whereupon he fell back; upon which the Mexicans sallied out and began to press the American Dragoons, when Colonel Harney ordered up his reserves, turned on them, and defeated and dislodged them.

The defeat of the Mexicans at Madellin, and the consequent occupation of the country, hastened the fall of Vera Cruz, for it cut off the supplies of the beleaguered enemy.

We ought to state that upon reporting to General Scott after this action, Colonel Harney frankly told the General: "I have violated your orders, attacked the enemy and driven them to Madellin." General Scott said: "Why did you violate orders?" Colonel Harney replied: "General, I have done exactly what you would have done under the

circumstances; I believe Vera Cruz gets all her supplies from these gardens through Spanish vessels." General Scott replied: "Well, Colonel, we will let it pass."

His frankness had saved him from the consequences of his soldierly impulsiveness. Although he was successful in his attack upon the enemy, it was no excuse for disobeying orders, for which, under the articles of war, he could have been court martialed and shot.

We will let Colonel Harney tell this in the language of his own report made at the time. It is dated March 26, 1847:

HEAD-QUARTERS SECOND REGIMENT DRAGOONS,
Camp Washington, March 26, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that, in obedience to the orders of Major-General Scott, I proceeded yesterday with Captain Thornton's squadron of Dragoons, under the immediate command of Major Sumner, and fifty dismounted men under Captain Ker, toward the Madellin River, it being reported that a considerable mounted force was in that direction, and in our neighborhood. I moved without opposition until I came near the stone bridge of the Morena, which is skirted by a dense chaparral, and which I determined to reconnoitre before advancing any farther, as I had learned that it was fortified, and guarded by 2,000 men and two pieces of artillery, and small parties of lancers were seen near the thicket on my approach. The enemy was prepared, and when I came within sixty yards of the bridge he opened a heavy fire on my dismounted skirmishers, and notwithstanding the utmost precaution, one corporal was killed and two men severely wounded. Seeing the bridge was fortified, and the enemy in force to dispute the passage, I fell back, and sent a request for two pieces of cannon, with the aid of which I felt convinced I could drive him from the bridge, and put him to rout. In the meantime Captain Hardee, who was engaged in disembarking his horses, hearing that I was engaged with the enemy, collected all the footmen he had on shore, and all he could find in camp, numbering more than forty, and came to my assistance. I was also joined

by a company of the first Tennessee regiment, commanded by Captain Cheatham, and part of four companies of the second Tennessee regiment, under the orders of Colonel Haskell. Soon after this, Lieutenant Judd, third artillery, arrived with two pieces of artillery, and I immediately made my disposition for attack. Captain Ker, with the dismounted dragoons, was placed on the left of the road leading to the bridge, the volunteers on the right, while Captain Hardee, with Lieutenant Hill, was directed to keep near the artillery to support it if necessary, and to be in readiness to charge on the bridge. Major Sumner, with the mounted men, was held in reserve. Lieutenant Judd was directed to move down the road with caution, as it was circuitous, and the bridge not visible until within fifty yards of the fortification. He did so with great judgment; but he was no sooner seen than the whole fire of the Mexicans was concentrated on his party. Hoping to divert their fire, I ordered the volunteers to commence firing on the right, and Captain Hardee to extend his men to the left and fire also; but Lieutenant Judd, nothing daunted, opened upon the fortification, and after six or eight well directed rounds, the heads of the enemy were no longer seen above the parapet. At this moment I ordered a charge upon the bridge; and the volunteers, headed by Colonel Haskell and Captain Cheatham, and the dragoons under Captain Hardee, rushed upon it with fearless intrepidity. The fortification opposed no obstacle. It was immediately leaped; but by this time the enemy had fallen back, and reformed beyond the bridge. I then ordered the bridge cleared, and sent for Major Sumner's command, which came up in gallant style, and charged upon the enemy. On his approach, the footmen fled into the woods, but the lancers were met and completely routed. Lieutenant Lowry and Lieutenant Oakes, with three men, pursued a party of about thirty lancers, who turned off in a by-road, and all but five were either sabred or dismounted. Major Sumner and Lieutenant Sibley, at the head of the first set of fours, had several personal encounters with the enemy, who were, in every instance, either killed or dismounted. The pursuit was continued to the village of Madellin, six miles from the bridge, from which another party of lancers were seen retreating, and Lieutenant Neill, my adjutant, being in advance, pur-

sued them with three men. A party was sent to support him; but his horse being fleeter than the rest, he came first upon the enemy, and two of them closing upon him, he received two severe lance wounds in the breast and arm, in consequence of which he fell from his horse, but not until he had displayed uncommon gallantry in his defense. Hearing this, and believing the enemy in force, I continued the pursuit two miles further; but night coming on, I was reluctantly compelled to desist. I had Lieutenant Neill brought to the village of Madellin, where I halted for three hours, to refresh men and horses, and I then returned to camp with my command, which I reached at three o'clock in the morning. After my disposition had been made for the attack, Major-General Patterson came up with Colonel Campbell's regiment of first Tennessee volunteers. He did not assume command, but rendered important aid by his gallant bearing and demeanor. Colonel Campbell's regiment participated in the attack and assault; and my thanks are due to him. Also to Colonel Haskell and Captain Cheatham, who evinced great zeal and gallantry. Colonel Haskell was the first to leap the parapet. Lieutenant Judd's position was perilous, and he exhibited rare judgment, coolness and intrepidity; and the services of himself and his subaltern, Lieutenent H. Brown, were of inestimable value.

The steadiness and gallantry displayed in the presence of the enemy by officers and men, both of the regular and volunteer service, merit my highest approbation. As to my own regiment, it would be invidious to particularize where all behaved so nobly. Especial thanks are due to my staff, Lieutenant Lowry, Lieutenant Neill, and Doctor Barnes, who were active and zealous in the discharge of their respective duties. Neither can I omit to mention the effective service rendered by Brevet-Major B. L. Beall and Captain W. J. Hardee, of my regiment. The former, though confined to his bed by sickness, joined my command on the first intimation of an engagement. The latter mounted at the commencement of the pursuit, and joined me as one of my staff. In the day's action I lost two men killed and nine wounded; among them my guide, Thomas Young, of Texas, who discharged his duty with fidelity and

bravery. It is not ascertained precisely what number of the enemy was killed; but it is known that not less than fifty fell in the attack and subsequent pursuit.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,

Colonel 2d Dragoons, Commanding.

Lieutenant H. L. Scott, A. A. A. G.

Camp Washington, before Vera Cruz.

The affair at Madellin was not mentioned in the report of the commanding General. Colonel Harney, some months afterwards, addressed the following letter to the Adjutant General:

Pueblo, Mexico, *August* 6, 1847.

Sir: The affair at Madellin, in which the dragoons under my command, aided by two pieces of artillery under Lieutenant Judd, and several companies of volunteers, attacked and routed a superior force strongly entrenched, has never received, in my estimation, that consideration which it merits. If I am correctly informed, no mention was made of it in the report of the commanding general detailing the operations around Vera Cruz. This omission I believe to have been accidental, and can readily excuse, in the magnitude of other matters in which the general-in-chief felt a personal concern. I shall make no apology, therefore, for bringing the subject again to his notice, as I am convinced he will be happy to do full justice to the officers and men who fought with me on that occasion.

Events are estimated by their relative importance. An action which might be regarded as a brilliant achievement in one age, or one campaign, would in another age and under different circumstances be considered of minor importance. This fact is illustrated in the present instance. To those concerned, it is unfortunate that the fight at Madellin should have occurred almost simultaneously with the great victory of Buena Vista, and the unparalleled capture of Vera Cruz and San Juan d'Ulloa. Into these great events it has been merged, and has consequently received but little notice. Had it taken place at the commencement of the war, immediately preceding the battle of Palo Alto, for example, it would have been regarded as an

unprecedented achievement, and have been the occasion of unbounded joy and enthusiasm; but, by its connection with these great victories, it has been overshadowed and forgotten.

I do not wish to enlarge on my own services; what I say is not intended to glorify myself, but to do justice to my regiment. Since the war commenced, the 2d regiment of dragoons has been actively and laboriously engaged—some portion of the regiment has been in every engagement with the Mexicans, and the nature of our operations not being favorable to cavalry service, the regiment has been compelled, in a measure, to do all the drudgery, without fully participating in the glory of our achievements. The only opportunities it has had for distinction, were at Resaca and Madellin, and the latter the only place where our cavalry has fairly met the cavalry of our enemy. My report shows the result. The enemy were either dismounted, killed, or dispersed, and I am happy to say that the occasion was such as to exhibit some of the highest qualities of the American soldier and officer. It is not my intention in this place to recapitulate what I have said of that engagement in my report, but merely to claim, as an act of justice, that the officers who distinguished themselves on that occasion should be rewarded. In this sentiment I believe the general-in-chief will fully concur, and I therefore append the names of the officers most distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Colonel 2d dragoons.

To Captain H. L. Scott, A. A. A. General.

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List of the officers who distinguished themselves in the fight at Madellin, March 26th, 1847, and whom I would respectfully recommend for brevets:

Major Sumner, 2d dragoons.
Captain Hardee, 2d dragoons.
Captain Sibley, 2d dragoons.
Lieutenant Judd, 3d artillery.
Lieutenant Niell, 2d dragoons.
Lieutenant Oakes, 2d dragoons.

While the army lay at Vera Cruz, Colonel Harney was ordered to proceed with a strong force and attack a considerable body of Mexicans, which General Scott had received information were concentrating. This duty was promptly and ably performed, but the Mexicans managed to elude him and retreat without an engagement. The duties of dragoons and cavalry are always arduous in every army, more especially in an enemy's country, where, upon their vigilance and discipline depends the very existence of the main body. They are constantly in the saddle, and always on hard duty. Colonel Harney had his full share of this hard service to perform during the siege of Vera Cruz. In the meantime, General Taylor, on the same day of the brilliant affair of Colonel Harney at the Madellin, had met and signally defeated General Santa Anna at Buena Vista.

MARCHING INTO MEXICO.

GENERAL TAYLOR AT BUENA VISTA.

CHAPTER X.

THE MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

THE BATTLE of Buena Vista had defeated but not subdued the spirit and energy of General Santa Anna. Falling back with his scattered forces he soon rallied his troops, reorganized his army, and seized the important mountain passes, through which an invading army must penetrate in marching from Vera Cruz upon the City of Mexico. General Scott was not ignorant of the activity of the Mexican General; but he was delayed by the non-arrival of his wagons and transportation, without which he could carry neither stores, arms nor ammunition. Sufficient of them had arrived by the 8th day of April to justify him in pushing forward General Twiggs' division, in which command was Colonel Harney's Dragoons, on the Jalapa road. The other divisions soon followed, and at the end of three days they were at the foot of the mountains, and the snow-capped peaks of Orizava overlooked them. It is on the ridges of this chain that the route lay to the City of Mexico, and from their impregnable summits the American army was observed by General Santa Anna with fifteen thousand men, who stood on the defensive and were strongly fortified at Cerro Gordo, which covered the Jalapa road.

The force under General Twiggs was three miles from the Rio del Plan, on the national road. That road ran between the river and a series of hills on the right, which are the border of the table lands of the Cordilleras. Various spurs of hills, with inaccessible sides, jut out from the principal heights, while the thick briars and exuberant vegetation of the ravine, following the course of the river,

formed an almost impassable barrier to an advance. Good engineers in the Mexican army had done their best to increase the difficulties of an attack on their chosen position. Santa Anna, filled with vanity, thought it an impregnable one, and believing that the attack would be made along the line of the national road, was exulting in his anticipated victory.

On the 12th of April, General Twiggs made a reconnoissance of Cerro Gordo. Colonel Harney, having already demonstrated his efficiency as a sagacious soldier on many battle fields, was vigilant in making the reconnoissance. His first effort was to examine the character of the ground and determine upon an attack in front of the enemy's batteries; this he soon learned to be impossible, and reported that the trees and bushes had been cut down and the stumps sharpened, and by this approach Cerro Gordo could not be taken by the grand army of Napoleon. But there was no time to be lost; an attack was to be made at once upon the enemy, and Colonel Harney let no opportunity escape to secure a full knowledge of the approaches to the frowning cannon and defiant batteries and fortifications that obstructed the pathway of the Americam army to the city of the Montezumas. A knowledge of the topographical character of the country surrounding the enemy's works, was the important thing to be learned, thereby, if possible, to find an easy pathway to victory. Colonel Harney's industry soon achieved this end; he found an old stage-driver—Jonathan Fitzwater—who had been in Mexico for many years; he was familiar with the topographical character of the country between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. Colonel Harney took Jonathan Fitzwater into his counsel, and he suggested a pathway to victory through the iron-clad gate of the enemy, but told the Colonel that he could not go with mounted men. This, however, was no drawback to the gallant officer who was eager for a fight and victory. He assured Fitzwater that he was ready

to go with dismounted men, and climb the rocky steeps. Colonel Harney soon made a reconnoissance of the route suggested by Fitzwater, and decided at once that he, by that approach, could take Cerro Gordo, and so reported to General Twiggs, and insisted on making the attack the next morning. General Twiggs consented to Colonel Harney's request, but concluded to wait until morning to issue the necessary orders and then made still further delays.

Meantime the volunteers were constantly arriving, and General Scott, with the main army, was not far distant. Colonel Harney, with true professional pride, was eager to make the attack and gain the position with the regulars alone rather than divide the honor with the volunteers, and chaffed under the delay. He felt that a victory that really belonged to him by right of discovery was to be divided between him and the whole army.

When General Scott arrived he sent out his engineers, with a corps of sappers and miners, and they reported as their selection the very route that Colonel Harney had before fixed upon. Robert E. Lee and G. T. Beauregard were the officers whose intelligence and engineering skill vindicated Harney's original plan, and when the plan of attack was detailed to him by the general-in-chief he saw with gratification that his own judgment was endorsed by men who arrived at the same conclusion from observations independently made.

To General Pillow, commanding a column of volunteers, was assigned the unfortunate duty of attacking between the national road and the river, at the place Harney had condemned, and it was here that our army suffered its greatest loss. The repulse that Pillow met would have been final were it not that the capture of Cerro Gordo cut off that portion of the Mexican army from connection with the rear, and General Jarero, without attempting further resistance, surrendered his entire force.

General Scott, in the meantime, fully comprehending the

magnitude of the engagement and the value of a certain victory, selected Colonel Harney to lead, with his dragoons, the most important line of attack, connected with the assault and capture of Cerro Gordo. The result of the contest fully demonstrated the wisdom of the general-in-chief in making the selection he did.

General Scott ordered a road to be cut to the right of the American army and to the left of Cerro Gordo, which would enable them to wind around the base of the mountain and ascend the peaks in rear of the Mexican batteries so as to reach the Jalapa road behind the Mexican position. The Mexicans, amused in their front, did not discover the advance by this route for three days, and the road was nearly completed on the 17th, when the Mexicans opened fire on the working parties. General Twiggs, with his division, advanced, and Colonel Harney, with the rifle regiment, the first artillery and part of his dragoons, drove away the enemy and covered the heights between the road and Cerro Gordo, on which, in the night, was placed a battery of one 24-pounder and two 24-pound howitzers, under a corps of the engineers and Lieutenant Wagner, of the ordnance, and carried by storm the hill to the right of Cerro Gordo, which protected the working parties.

On the 17th General Scott published his General Order No. 111, as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Plan del Rio, April 17, 1847.

The enemy's whole line of intrenchments and batteries will be attacked in front, and at the same time turned, early in the day to-morrow—probably before ten o'clock, A. M.

The second (Twiggs') division of regulars is already advanced within easy turning distance towards the enemy's left. That division has instructions to move forward before daylight to-morrow, and take up a position across the national road in the enemy's rear, so as to cut off a retreat towards Jalapa. It may be reinforced to-day, if unexpectedly attacked in force, by regiments—one or two taken

from Shields' brigade of volunteers. If not, the two volunteer regiments will march for that purpose at daylight to-morrow morning, under Brigadier-General Shields, who will report to Brigadier-General Twiggs, on getting up with him, or the general-in-chief, if he be in advance.

The remaining regiment of that volunteer brigade will receive instructions in the course of the day.

The first division of regulars (Worth's) will follow the movement against the enemy's left at sunrise to-morrow morning.

As already arranged, Brigadier-General Pillow's brigade will march at six o'clock to-morrow morning along the route he has carefully reconnoitered, and stand ready as soon as he hears the report of arms on our right, or sooner if circumstances should favor him, to pierce the enemy's line of batteries at such point—the nearer the river the better—as he may select. Once in the rear of that line, he will turn to the right or left, or both, and attack the batteries in reverse; or, if abandoned, he will pursue the enemy with vigor until further orders.

Wall's field battery and the cavalry will be held in reverse on the national road, a little out of view and range of the enemy's batteries. They will take up that position at nine o'clock in the morning.

The enemy's batteries being carried or abandoned, all our divisions and corps will pursue with vigor.

This pursuit may be continued many miles, until stopped by darkness or fortified positions towards Jalapa. Consequently, the body of the army will not return to this encampment, but be followed to-morrow afternoon, or early the next morning, by the baggage trains of the several corps. For this purpose, the feebler officers and men of each corps will be left to guard its camp and effects, and to load up the latter in the wagons of the corps. A commander of the present encampment will be designated in the course of this day.

As soon as it shall be known that the enemy's works have been carried, or that the general pursuit has been commenced, one wagon for each regiment and one for the cavalry will follow the movements, to receive, under the directions of medical officers, the wounded and disabled,

who will be brought back to this place for treatment in general hospital.

The surgeon-general will organize this important service and designate that hospital, as well as the medical officers to be left at it.

Every man who marches out to attack or pursue the enemy, will take the usual allowance of ammunition, and subsistence for at least two days.

By command of Major-General Scott,
H. L. SCOTT, A. A. A. General.

At early dawn, General Twiggs was in motion, the artillery, masked by the brush from the batteries on the heights, carried the day before, opening fire on the Mexican position. The hills and mountains reverberated with the bellowing of cannon. The enemy answered in the same thunder tones, and as General Shields, with his division, pressed forward to take possession of the Jalapa road, in the rear of Cerro Gordo, Twiggs moved forward to his support, but from Cerro Gordo there was opened a plunging fire on Twiggs' division. The order was given to storm the batteries and works of Cerro Gordo. Colonel Harney was charged with the execution of this perilous and important duty. He led the regulars forward, covered by the American batteries, till he reached the space between them and Cerro Gordo, where they encountered the enemy's fire. They climbed the rocky, steep ascent under a plunging fire in their front and a rolling fire in flank. Colonel Harney, full fifty yards in advance of his column, waved his sword and shouted like the very God of War, and excited the emulation of his troops to follow. The missiles of death were decimating the ranks, but they did not falter. As soon as a comrade fell they closed up with the steadiness and accuracy of a holiday parade. They gained the hill and gave one loud shout, for they carried the works, and found the Mexican commander, General Vasquez, a corpse in the fortress he so obstinately defended. The American

flag was raised over Cerro Gordo, and the Mexican colors pulled down.

General Shields' division, in the meantime, moved upon the Jalapa road, storming a fort in their front, which was carried by their valor, but their brave General was shot through the lungs. The road was taken, and General Santa Anna, with eight thousand men, were fugitives, while General La Vega and three other general officers, with three thousand men, were prisoners.

The Americans were victorious at every point, except with Pillow's division, which, recoiling under an enfilading fire, was held at bay till the storming of Cerro Gordo and the threatened capture of the Jalapa road put Santa Anna to flight. The fugitive army was pursued with great slaughter beyond Jalapa.

When the contest was ended and the flag of the Union waved over the demolished fortifications of the vanquished Mexicans, the general-in-chief, who was an eye-witness to the charge of Colonel Harney, with due regard for the valor and duty done by all the officers and soldiers, felt that there was one chieftain, "a soldier of the legion," his chosen champion, who had done more than his duty, and, overflowing with joy, he rushed to Colonel Harney, and with tears in his eyes, embraced him with affection as would an illustrious sire embrace a victorious son at the Olympic games.

This great struggle, which made Colonel Harney illustrious as a soldier, deserves more than a passing notice, for it is not the soldier that makes a battle-field historic, but it is the character of the fortifications or the battle-field, the position it occupies, the results for weal or woe which depend upon its capture, or its power to repel an invading army or navy that makes officers and soldiers illustrious in victory or defeat. And in every armed contest there are some battles more conspicuous than others; battles that give distinction to the contest, and make illustrious surviv-

COLONEL HARNEY AT CERRO GORDO.

ing heroes; such an one is the battle of Cerro Gordo, and as such the historians of the two nations are permitted to speak in reference to the immediate contest.

In his history of the Mexican war, Edward D. Mansfield describes the battle of Cerro Gordo as follows (pages 191 to 194):

All is ready. The night-watch is past. Twiggs' division, which has rested on its arms, is rousing itself at the first light. The gallant artillerymen and engineers on the hill cut away the light brush in front of their guns, and now the heavy cannon begin their fire on the hill batteries Their thunder tones are echoed from the mountain sides, and returned from the pieces of the enemy. The division of Twiggs is marching. The volunteers of Shields are hurrying on to seize the Jalapa road in rear of Santa Anna. Cerro Gordo now opens its plunging fire on Twiggs, and the issue has come. Cerro Gordo must be stormed. The storm is led by the gallant Harney. They fight under the eye of Scott. Here march the rifles, the 1st artillery, the 7th infantry; and near them, and with them storming the heights, are the 2d and the 3d infantry, and the 4th artillery. These are the regulars of Twiggs, and here they march up the rocky ascent, so steep that they must climb as they go, and with no covering but the very steepness of the hill. They receive a plunging fire in front and a rolling fire on the flanks—but on they go. On—on, Harney leads his men. The front rank melts away before the shot; but they stop not till the hill is gained, and then a long and loud shout echoes from the mountain sides—Cerro Gordo is gained! Vasquez, the Mexican General, is killed in the fortress. Now the flags of the 1st artillery and 7th infantry are planted on the batteries, and now sergeant Henry hauls down the national standard of Mexico. The Anglo-American again unfurls the flag of his country, and again renews the victories of Cortez. But where are the volunteers? Yet further to the right, and hastening to the Jalapa road, they storm a fort in front—the heroic Shields is shot through the lungs—but the fort is taken—the road is gained—and the flying army of Santa Anna is pursued in all directions.

On the river batteries in front, Pillow's attack is not successful. The batteries enfilade our men, and after bravely fighting, they are drawn back; but their effort is not lost. The corps of General La Vega is kept employed till Cerro Gordo has fallen. Then he surrenders, with three thousand men prisoners of war. Santa Anna, with Almonte, Canalizo, and eight thousand have escaped, leaving carriages and baggage behind, and are now on the road to Jalapa. The sun is at noon, and the battle is ended; but the pursuit continues. The reserve division of Worth comes up, passes Twiggs, and hurries rapidly on after the confused and flying Mexicans; nor does he stop till Jalapa appears in sight!

On the 19th of April, from Plan del Rio, Scott announces to the War Department that he is embarrassed with the results of victory! Three thousand prisoners, forty-three pieces of bronze artillery manufactured at Seville, five thousand stand of arms, five generals, with the munitions and materials of an army, captured in a single battle, are the fruits of victory, and demand the earnest care of the conquering general! The men must be paroled; the small-arms must be destroyed; we have not men to take care of them.

Such was the battle of Cerro Gordo. In the skill with which it was planned, in the formidable defences to be surmounted, in the heroism of the attack, and in the magnitude of results, with which of American battles will it not compare? There were almost impassable obstacles, surmounted by skill; there were almost impregnable batteries, stormed by valor; there were thousands of prisoners captured, and an army destroyed; there was a road to the capital laid open, and towns and cities taken in the long vista of a victorious march! The Mexican empire lies under the feet of the conqueror, and again is the Aztec compelled to witness the triumphs of power, and utter by the ruins of the past, the mournings of the present!

Look around you upon the battle-field, now that the dark chariot of war has driven by! Hear the description of one who has been to look upon the dead.

"A dragoon we encountered on the way kindly offered to be our guide, and from him we learned the positions of

the different armies, their divisions and subdivisions. As winding around the hills by the national road, the enemy's intrenchments, their barricaded heights, strong forts, and well-defended passes came in view, we halted, and gazed for several moments in mute amazement. No one, from reading the newspaper accounts or the reports of the generals, can form a proper idea of the advantages possessed by the enemy in his chosen position. The battle, I knew it had been fought and won by our troops; yet it seemed, in its bare, still reality, a dream. I could not shake off this feeling as I rode along the enemy's lines of intrenchments, entered his dismantled forts and magazines, and looked from his chosen heights upon the paths up which our troops rushed into the jaws of death. * * *

"Passing down the ravine where the National Guard had three times attempted to dislodge the mounted riflemen, who, supported by the howitzer battery, literally rained death among their ranks, I was obliged to turn back and retrace my steps. The gorge was choked up with the mangled bodies of the flower of the Mexican army. The wolf-dog and the buzzard howled and screamed as I rode by, and the stench was too sickening to be endured. Returning to the national road, we passed a large number of cannon taken by our troops, and saw piles of muskets charred with fire in heaps, where they had been heaped and burned. * * * * *

"All along the road were the bodies of Mexican lancers and their horses, cut down by Colonel Harney's dragoons, when these fire-eaters chased Santa Anna and his retreating troops into and beyond Jalapa. Almost every man's skull was literally split open with the sabres of our horsemen, and they lay stretched upon the ground in ghastly groups."

From this sad scenery of war, as exhibited in the relics of a battle-field, we must hasten on with the gallant General, who renewed with yet deeper verdure the laurels of Niagara on the summits of Cerro Gordo. Scott was no distant spectator of the combat. He had called others to the field, and he shared its dangers himself. Having prepared all things for the storm of the tower, (called by the Mexicans the Telegraph,) he took post at the point Colonel Harney charged, and under the heavy fire of the enemy's

artillery. There he witnessed the gallant charge, and there he encouraged the troops. It was then that he thus addressed Colonel Harney, (between whom and himself there had been some coolness:) "Colonel Harney, I cannot now adequately express my admiration of your gallant achievement, but at the proper time I shall take great pleasure in thanking you in proper terms." Harney, with the modesty of true valor, claimed the praise as due to his officers and men.

The storming of Cerro Gordo was one of the most brilliant and desperate of that long line of feats of arms which belong to the history of the Mexican war. Of Colonel Harney's part in it, the following brief extract is from Brooks' "History of the Mexican War:"

"Throughout the night there were 8,000 Mexicans lying upon and around the various heights, protected by breastworks and fortifications, and further secured from direct assault by deep ravines and almost precipitous rocks, up whose steep sides they imagined a man would scarcely dare to climb. In addition to the force thus formidably posted, there was a reserve of 6,000 men, encamped upon the plain in the rear of Cerro Gordo, and close to the Jalapa road.

"Meanwhile Harney was organizing his storming party. This consisted of the Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Plympton, the rifles under Major Loring, four companies of the First Artillery under Colonel Child, and six companies of the Third Infantry under Captain Alexander. All of these, composing the forlorn hope, were regulars, picked men, daring and resolute. Many of them were veterans who had passed not unscathed through the desperate battles of Palo Alto and the Palm Ravine, and the still more deadly storm of Monterey. Now they were about to wrestle with a danger perhaps more imminent than any they had hitherto encountered.

"Onward they rushed, impelled by the double consciousness that the eyes of the general-in-chief were upon them, and of the terrible consequences that would follow a disastrous issue. Harney led the way, conspicuous above all others by his full military uniform and his commanding stature. Waving his sword and calling on his men to follow, he

rapidly ascended in full view of the enemy, while his cheering voice infused into the breasts of his command the same energy and dauntless enthusiasm which animated his own. It was a race for glorious renown wherein each strove to be foremost. The front ranks fell, but the survivors still pressed on, and still above the thunder of the war rose high, distinct and clear the voice of their intrepid leader."

The key to the whole position was ours, captured under the eye of the general-in-chief, by an assault that stands out as one of the most fiery and desperate onsets of modern war.

The historian of Mexico thus speaks of this great battle. The work is entitled, "The Other Side, or notes for the history of the war between Mexico and the United States," translated from the Spanish by Albert C. Ramsey:

On the same day, the 17th, the brigade of General Arteaga arrived at Jalapa, composed of the active battalions and the National Guard of Puebla; and they had scarcely retired to their quarters before an order was received, from General Santa Anna, to take up their march immediately for Cerro Gordo. Without taking any rest after their journey, those wretched soldiers proceeded; and most of them reached Dos Rios that night, leaving various parties behind, who could not endure the fatigue. On the following day, at a very critical moment indeed, the united brigade arrived at Cerro Gordo.

Although General Santa Anna apparently fixed his whole attention on the position of the right, where he naturally expected the decisive attack, instructed by what had happened, he sent two 12-pounders and one 16, that night up the hill; but the last only reached half way up, on the left side. He also ordered the chiefs of engineers, Robles and Cano, to construct the most necessary fortifications on that eminence; and on the following day, before dawn, he himself placed a battery on the side of the road, almost in front of head-quarters, at the aperture of a bushy barranca. The Americans, in the course of the night, also established a battery in the hill of the Atalaya; and their preparations for an attack on the following day, were interrupted only

by a few cannon shots, which General Vasquez, Commandante of the Telegrafo, ordered to be fired at them.

At dawn on the 18th, the roar of the enemy's artillery resounded through the camps, as a solemn announcement of a battle.

On the hill, where the brave insurgents had in former days shed their blood for independence, now waved our flag; and under its shadow, from that elevation, was seen a line of men, who were to serve as a wall against the invader. Among the files, the different and distinctive ranks of the army, from the common soldier to the general-in-chief, then invested with the supreme dignity of the nation, appeared at that time in all the prestige and with all the splendor which the illusions of patriotism conceded to them.

The enemy, using the battery of Atalaya, opened from thence for some hours, their fire upon the Telegrafo, from which our own replied. General Santa Anna then employed himself in completing the battery by the roadside; and the engineers, Robles and Cano, under the enemy's fire, erected temporary works on the declivity of the Telegrafo, on the very spot where the corps who defended the center of the position, the evening before, had formed. Above the positions of the center and the right of our line, were now the same forces which had previously garrisoned them; upon the hill the 1st and 2d Light were sent, which had gone down early in the morning, to take their rations; and the 6th infantry returned to cover the right. The 4th of the line remained on the spot where they had fought so bravely on the 17th. The cavalry, which had been ordered down from Corral Falso in the night, formed on the road, resting their right opposite the battery just erected, and were supported by the 11th infantry. The 3d and 4th light battalions remained also formed on the road, ready to march to any point that might be designated.

Such was the disposition of our forces, before sunrise, while the cannonade was becoming more and more active between the two hills, until the roar was repeated every instant. The enemy, without cessation, poured down grenades, rockets, and all other kinds of projectiles, which fell upon the hill, upon the road and even far beyond our

camp. Their columns, in the meantime, marched beyond the Atalaya, by the crags in front of our left; and about seven in the morning, one of them, under the command of General Twiggs, commenced the attack upon Telegrafo.

General Santa Anna, as soon as he had established the battery on the left, proceeded to the positions on the right, influenced perhaps by his first idea. But stopping after he had passed the battery of the center, and observing from that spot, the activity with which the cannonade was sustained on our part, sent orders to General Vasquez, not to expend his park, and to shelter the troops from the enemy's fire. Then returning by the road, on arriving at the foot of the Telegrafo, the fire of musketry opened, and he immediately sent up the 3d and 4th Light battalions to aid the troops in defending that point.

The Americans charged with firmness, deploying as skirmishers, covering themselves among the bushes and briers that were on the ground upon the lines, scarcely marked out, which it had been intended to construct that morning, being supported by the 3d of the line, the 2d Light, and part of the 4th. They made equal exertions against the left of the Telegrafo, defended by the 4th of the line, and against the right, where the 6th infantry was posted, to reinforce them, as on the previous evening. The artillery had ceased to play on both sides, on account of the proximity of the combatants. The fire of the musketry was as active as the excitement of the contest. Death, flapping her wings over that bloody field, set on fire in some places by the projectiles of the enemy, and which was mixed in a horrible manner with the thick smoke that enveloped thousands of men, crimsoned with the contest. Our soldiers fell in heaps in the midst of the confusion, and the enemy falling also, were instantly replaced by others, who seemed to reproduce them. There fell the worthy Colonel Palacios, commander of the artillery of the field, wounded by the enemy's balls; there a warrior's fame crowned the career of General Vasquez, in the fulness of his energies with a glorious death, amidst the tumult of battle, and there hundreds of brave men shed their blood in the most holy cause. This commander should have been succeeded by his second, General Uraga, but he was at the head of his

battalion, the 4th of the line, on the left declivity of the Telegrafo; and having not a moment to lose, General Baneneli took the command, whose corps, the 3d Light, had remained in reserve, sheltered from the fire by the very summit of the hill. The activity of the engagement redoubling more and more, destroyed new victims. The 2d Light and the 3d and 4th of the line, had lost almost their entire force, and even the last the greater part of its officers. The enemy, pressing upon our troops with superior numbers, successively gained possession of the lower works of the position, and without losing an instant, rapidly ascended to assault the last crest of the hill.

Some of our soldiers now began to leave their ranks, and to descend the opposite side, attempting to mingle with the wounded, who were retiring, but General Santa Anna observing it ordered some of his adjutants to prevent this disorder, and they either on compulsion, or by the stimulus of enthusiasm, succeeded in persuading the fugitives to return.

In the meantime, General Baneneli appealed to the last resource, and ordered his men to charge bayonets. They, eager to join in an action which they had only heard, immediately hastened this movement in full force, to come up to where they were directed; but, surprised at finding themselves hand to hand with an enemy so superior in numbers, and surrounded on all sides, were panic-struck in an instant, fell into disorder, and their commander in vain endeavored to keep them in their ranks. Being himself involved in the crowd with the chiefs of engineers and other officers, who endeavored, sword in hand, to keep back the men, they were actually rolled together down the opposite declivity, borne along by the multitude, which poured onward like a torrent from the height.

On the summit of the hill now was seen, in the midst of a column of dense smoke, a multitude of Americans, standing amidst the flashing light of their fires, which were directed against the enormous mass of men precipitating themselves down the steep declivity, covered, as it were, with a white robe from the color of their dress. That shocking spectacle was like the violent eruption of a vol-

cano, throwing out flames and cinders from its bosom, and spreading them over all its surface.

Among the fire and smoke, and above the mass of blue formed by the Americans behind the summit of the Telegrafo, still floated our deserted flag. But the banner of the stars was soon raised by the enemy upon the same staff, and for an instant both became entangled and confounded together, our own at length falling to the ground, amidst the shouts and roar of the victors' guns, and the mournful cries and confused voices of the vanquished.

It was now three-quarters past ten o'clock in the morning. The enemy had appeared on the right of our line during the attack on the Telegrafo; and advancing in column upon our position of the center, endeavored to take all our entrenchments by assault. Captain Godinez, of the navy, commanding the artillery, had concerted with the respective commanders of the three positions, to allow the enemy to advance upon any of them without firing, until they should approach within a short distance, taking the precaution to have the cannon loaded with grape shot. The American column, composed of volunteers, under the command of General Pillow, approached nearer and nearer to our lines without receiving a single shot; but, as soon as they reached a convenient place, a close discharge of our pieces, which raked their ranks, accompanied with a vigorous volley of small arms from the three positions, made a horrible slaughter among the enemy, threw them into disorder, and obliged them to make a precipitate retreat.

Before they could reorganize, and when our soldiers had not suffered the slightest loss, the Telegrafo had yielded; and the Americans who had possession of it, descending by the right declivity, upon the battery on the road, which our forces had not begun to use, entirely cut off those positions, now surrounded on all sides, and commanded by the hill from which the enemy directed their fire. General Jarero no longer attempted any resistance, but surrendered, with his force.

When the Telegrafo was lost, the 6th infantry had retreated to the position on the right, where they capitulated with the other corps. The grenadier battalion, which had been drawn out from the battery of the center to the foot

of the hill, chiefly dispersed, in spite of the exertions made to collect it.

The brigade of General Arteaga, that had arrived in the midst of the conflict, being infected by the disorder of the other forces, fell into confusion, opposite head-quarters, without having come into action. The 11th infantry, in obedience to different orders from the Commander-in-chief, made repeated marches and countermarches for that same point; while the scattered remains of the 2d, 3d, and 4th light battalions, and 3d and 4th of the line, there likewise became disordered; and the entire mass of men, panic-struck, without morale, without discipline, moved about in that small piece of road, in the most frightful state of confusion.

An enthusiastic officer harangued the troops at the pitch of his voice, assuring them that they had yet lost nothing, wishing to reanimate the spirit now dead in all that unfortunate crowd. General Beneneli, rushing in with his horse, and full of wrath, poured forth a thousand horrible imprecations upon his soldiers, and with the butt of his pistol threatened particularly one of his captains. The General-in-chief vented his rage upon the officers who had lost their positions; and the agitation of the multitude, and the difficulties of the ground, with the general dangers and desperation, rendered the scene indescribable.

In the meantime, the enemy's column, commanded by General Worth, passing the barrancas and crags on our left, which had been deemed inaccessible, approached the battery that had been thrown up that day, the only remaining one in our possession. The General-in-chief ordered General Canalizo to charge with the cavalry; but the woods absolutely prevented the execution of the movement. The column advanced, in spite of the fire of the cannon, in a direction for the road, to the left of our battery, to cut off our retreat. When, however, they had approached near enough, more than two hundred skirmishers were sent forward, whose balls, as if with a breath of wind, fast cleared away the men at our guns, which were supplied by the artillery and a party of cuirassiers, who had been ordered to dismount to reinforce the battery. The first adjutant, Velasco, chief of the cuirassiers, had the glory of falling

at the foot of it. The skirmishers advanced to the front of the battery, so that the head of the column was very near the road; when our cavalry, seeing that they were about to be cut off, retreated rapidly by the Jalapa road. The last effort was then made by Robles, and the brave artillery officers, Malagon, Arguelles, and Olzinger, who, surrounded on all sides, turned their pieces towards the left, directing them against the head of the column, a few moments before the skirmishers, who rushed upon them with the bayonet, got possession of them, and turned them against us.

General Santa Anna, accompanied by some of his adjutants, proceeded by the road to the left of the battery, when the enemy's column, now coming out of the woods, absolutely prevented his passage by a discharge which obliged him to fall back. The carriage in which he had left Jalapa was riddled with shot, the mules killed and taken by the enemy, as well as a wagon containing sixteen thousand dollars, received the day before for the pay of the troops. Every tie of command and obedience now being broken among our troops, safety alone being the object, and all being involved in a frightful whirl, they rushed desperately to the narrow pass of the defile that descends to the Plan del Rio, where the General-in-chief had proceeded, with the chiefs and officers who accompanied him.

Horrible, indeed, was the descent by that narrow and rocky path, where thousands rushed, disputing the passage with desperation, and leaving a track of blood upon the road. All classes being confounded, all military distinction and respect were lost, the badges of rank became marks for sarcasm, that were only meted out according to their grade and humiliation. The enemy, now masters of our camp, turned their guns upon the fugitives. This augmented more and more the terror of the multitude crowded through the defile, and pressed every instant by a new impulse, which increased the confusion and disgrace of the ill-fated day.

Cerro Gordo was lost! * * * Mexico was open to the iniquity of the invader. * * *

The following extract of the report of General Scott to the War Department says:

In this hurried and imperfect report I must not omit to say that Brigadier General Twiggs, in passing the mountain range beyond Cerro Gordo, crowned with the tower, detached from his division, as I suggested the day defore, a strong force to carry that height, which commanded the Jalapa road at the foot, and could not fail, if carried, to cut off the whole or any part of the enemy's forces from a retreat in any direction. A portion of the first artillery, under the often-distinguished Brevet Colonel Childs, the third infantry, under Captain Alexander, the seventh infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Plympton, and the rifles, under Major Loring, all under the temporary command of Colonel Harney, 2d dragoons, during the confinement to his bed of Brevet Brigadier General P. F. Smith, composed that detachment. The style of execution, which I had the pleasure to witness, was most brilliant and decisive. The brigade ascended the long and difficult slope of Cerro Gordo, without shelter, and under the tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, with the utmost steadiness, reached the breastworks, drove the enemy from them, planted the colors of the 1st artillery, 3d and 7th infantry—the enemy's flag still flying—and, after some minutes of sharp firing, finished the conquest with the bayonet.

It is a most pleasing duty to say that the highest praise is due to Harney, Childs, Plympton, Loring, Alexander, their gallant officers and men, for this brilliant service, independent of the great results which soon followed.

Worth's division of regulars coming up at this time, he detached Brevet Lieutenant Colonel P. F. Smith, with his light battalion, to support the assault, but not in time. The General, reaching the tower a few minutes before me, and observing a white flag displayed from the nearest portion of the enemy towards the batteries below, sent out Colonels Harney and Childs to hold a parly. The surrender followed in an hour or two.

In a supplemental report General Scott says:

"I have heretofore endeavored to do justice to the skill and courage with which the attack on the height of Cerro Gordo was directed and executed, naming the regiments most distinguished, and their commanders, under the lead of Colonel Harney. Lieutenant G. W. Smith led the

engineer company as part of the storming force, and is noticed with distinction."

These praises of a gallant officer whom he had capriciously persecuted, show that he came to realize that the Colonel could as safely be trusted as his junior.

A more accurate description of the action in which Colonel Harney had borne so distinguished a part, will be found in the report of General Twiggs, which we give entire:

HEAD-QUARTERS, 2D DIVISION OF REGULARS,
April 19, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to report, for the information of the general-in-chief, the operations of my division of regulars against the enemy on the 17th inst.

Prefacing this report, I will state that I arrived at Plan del Rio on the 11th instant. The advanced guard of dragoons, under Colonel Harney, having driven from the place a body of the enemy's lancers, I then encamped my division for the night, intending the following day (12th) to cover a thorough reconnoissance of his position, and, if practicable, to make an effective attack on all his works. Deeming it impracticable to advance, with advantage, beyond the position which I had gained during the reconnoissance on the 12th, (being some three and a half miles from water,) I withdrew my main force to my old camp, keeping up a strong picket to retain the ground I had passed over, intending on the following morning (the 13th) at 4 o'clock, to make the attack with effect.

Two brigades of volunteers, under the command of Brigadier-Generals Pillow and Shields, respectively, arrived at my camp on the 12th instant. Major-General Patterson, United States volunteers, having reported sick, I assumed command of the whole. The volunteers, wishing to participate in the fight, and being so much broken down from the recent march from Vera Cruz, I thought proper, at the suggestion of Generals Pillow and Shields, to defer the attack one day. Having done so, and having matured my plan of attack, and assigned to each division its duty, I was overtaken by an order of Major-General Patterson, after night on the 13th, to suspend all further offensive opera-

tions until the arrival of the general-in-chief, or until ordered by himself (General Patterson). Agreeably to this arrangement I received, on the evening of the 16th, verbal orders from the general-in-chief to proceed on my line of operations on the right of the national road. At 11 o'clock, A. M., I got in position, the right of my column being about 700 yards from the enemy's main work. Lieutenant Gardner held his position under heavy fire until relieved by Colonel Harney with the rifle regiment and 1st artillery. With this force Colonel Harney cleared the two hills in front of the enemy's main work, and held secure the position intended for our heavy battery, which was established during the night under the direction of Captain Lee, of the engineer corps. During this evening Brigadier-General Shields joined me with his brigade of volunteers, composed of two Illinois regiments under Colonels Baker and Foreman, and one New York regiment, commanded by Colonel Burnett.

On the morning of the 18th, when our heavy guns opened, Colonel Harney, having been reinforced by the 3d and 7th infantry, pushed forward his skirmishing parties. Overcoming all obstacles presented by the nature of the ground, and under a most galling and destructive fire, this command advanced with steadiness and regularity, and finally succeeded in driving from the strong position of the enemy all his forces, and in putting them in complete rout.

In speaking of the individual efforts of the officers in command of regiments and companies, I am unable to do ample justice. Each and every one seemed to be endeavoring to excel in all that is required of gallant officers. They all responded to the encouraging voice of their gallant leader, and conducted their men to victory and glory.

The 2d brigade, under Colonel Riley, advanced under a heavy fire to gain a position on the Jalapa road in rear of the enemy, with a view of cutting off his retreat. After crossing the valley at the foot of the Cerro Gordo, the fire of the enemy became so annoying that two companies of the 2d infantry were ordered out as skirmishers to occupy them. The remainder of the 2d, conducted by Captain Lee, engineers, proceeded on their course. Perceiving that

the enemy were extending to their left, I ordered General Shields to cross the ravine on our right, and keep up the left bank on the part previously reconnoitered by Captain Lee. In the further progress of this portion of Colonel Riley's brigade, he was obliged to turn his whole column to the left to oppose the enemy's direct movement down the spur. Captain Lee continued his course, supported by Lieutenant Benjamin's company, 4th artillery. On coming out in the plain west of the Cerro Gordo, and in full view of the Jalapa road, a battery of five guns, supported by a body of lancers was discovered. General Shields' brigade was discovered by this portion of the enemy. The battery opened with grape on him and on Lieutenant Benjamin's company. The gallant General, with a shout from his men, pushed boldly for the road on the enemy's left, who, seeing their position completely turned, as well as driven from the hill, abandoned themselves to flight. General Shields was here severely wounded, the command of the brigade devolving upon Colonel Baker, who conducted it with ability. The pursuit was continued as far as Encerro, when I was overtaken by Major-General Patterson, United States volunteers, who then assumed command of the advance and ordered a halt.

I cannot speak in too high terms of the conduct of Colonel Harney, who, united with his indomitable courage, possessed the cool judgment which enabled him to know just how far to advance to obtain the desired object. That sterling soldier and accomplished officer, Major Sumner, 2d dragoons, who was in command of the regiment of mounted riflemen, exhibited all the skill and ability required of a permanent commander of a regiment. He was severely wounded in the head, by an escopette ball, and obliged to leave the field, the command of the regiment devolving upon Major Loring.

Captain Magruder, 1st artillery, by his wary and good management in the face of the enemy, succeeded in arriving very near the enemy's works, driving before him the parties immediately in front. His gallant conduct deserves especial notice. Brevet First Lieutenant Gardner, 7th infantry, whose company was first sent on the hill, by sustaining himself against a vastly superior force, displayed

that ability as commander of a company which, on a former occasion, acquired for him the distinction he now has as brevet first lieutenant.

I am sorry that the advantages gained over the enemy the first day were attended with some loss on our side. Besides Major Sumner, second dragoons, and Lieutenant Maury, rifle regiment, who were severely wounded, and Lieutenant George H. Gordon, rifle regiment, serving in Major Talcott's battery of mountain howitzers, and Lieutenant Gibbs, mounted riflemen, slightly, some fifty casualties occurred, principally in the first artillery and rifle regiments.

Of the conduct of the volunteer force under the brave General Shields, I cannot speak in too high terms. After he was wounded, portions of the three regiments were with me when I arrived first at the Jalapa road, and drove before them the enemy's cannoniers from their loaded guns. Their conduct and names shall be the subject of a special report, as also that of the several officers of the regular army, who were distinguished on the occasion.

Accompanied with this, I transmit the several reports from brigade and regimental head-quarters. In all the recommendations for praise and promotion I entirely concur.

Although, whatever I may say, may add little to the good reputation of Captain Lee, of the engineer corps, yet I must indulge in the pleasure of speaking of the invaluable services which he rendered me from the time I left the main road, until he conducted Colonel Riley's brigade to its position in rear of the enemy's strong work on the Jalapa road. I consulted him with confidence, and adopted his suggestions with entire assurance. His gallantry and good conduct on both days deserve the highest praise. I again present to the favorable consideration of the commander-in-chief, and the President, the names of my personal staff, First Lieutenant W. T. H. Brooks, third infantry, A. A. G., and First Lieutenant P. W. McDonald, second dragoons, A. D. C., Captain R. A. Allen, A. Q. M., rendered me invaluable services, not only in communicating orders when he was in the field, but in keeping at hand under all disadvantages, the necessary supplies for my di-

vision. For his services on this, and on former occasions, I most earnestly recommend him for promotion. To Lieutenants Mason, Beauregard, and Tower, of the engineers, and Lieutenant Sykes, third infantry, A. C. S. to the division, I am indebted for valuable services. Whilst on reconnoitering duty on the 12th, I lost the valuable services of Lieutenant Colonel Johnston, who was on duty with me as chief topographical engineer, and was very severely wounded under the enemy's works on the left of the road.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure of tendering my thanks to the commanders of regiments and batteries, whose conduct tended so much to the attainment of our glorious victory. The first brigade, under Colonel Harney, was composed of the 1st artillery, commanded by Colonel Childs, the rifle regiment, (after Major Sumner was wounded), commanded by Major Loring, and the 7th infantry, commanded by Colonel Plympton.

The 2d brigade, under Colonel Riley, was composed of the 4th artillery, commanded by Major Gardner, the 2d infantry, commanded by Captain Morris, and the 3d infantry, commanded by Captain Alexander.

The volunteer force under my orders was composed of the 3d Illinois regiment, commanded by Colonel Baker, the 4th Illinois regiment, commanded by Colonel Foreman, and the New York regiment, commanded by Colonel Burnett. The field battery was commanded by Captain Taylor, and the howitzer battery by Major Talcott.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. E. TWIGGS,
Brigadier General U. S. A.

Captain H. L. SCOTT,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

We also append Colonel Harney's report:

JALAPA, MEXICO, *April 21, 1847.*

SIR: On the evening of the 16th instant, owing to the illness of Brevet Brigadier General Smith, I was placed in command of the 1st brigade of the 2d division, and it is now my grateful duty to report the operations of that brigade in the actions of the 17th and 18th instant. Our

encampment at Plan del Rio enabled the engineer officers to make frequent and close observations on the enemy's position, and it was ascertained that he had fortified himself on a range of hills for two miles in a mountain pass, and that the last of his works was on the Cerro Gordo, which, from its position and defences, was considered almost impregnable.

On the morning of the 17th the 2d division, under the command of Brigadier General Twiggs, was directed to turn the enemy by the right flank, and I was ordered by that officer to seize and maintain all the heights in the neighborhood of the Cerro Gordo, which, from their proximity and position, might be of advantage in an attack on that fortress. Shortly after the column turned off to the right from the main road, Brevet First Lieutenant F. Gardner, 7th infantry, was directed with his company to move to the crest of the hill on the left, and to watch the enemy's movements. While in the execution of this order, Lieutenant Gardner became engaged with the enemy, but he gallantly maintained his position against fearful odds, until he was succored by the riflemen under Major Sumner, and the artillery under Colonel Childs, who drove the enemy, after a severe conflict, from their first position, and continued the pursuit until they made a second stand on a hill near the Cerro Gordo, within the range of their grape and cannister, and from which our troops suffered a severe loss; but the hill was stormed and carried, and afterwards maintained, although the enemy made three successive charges to regain it. A portion of the troops under Colonel Childs, led on by their zeal and impetuosity, rushed down the hill to the ascent of the Cerro Gordo; but as an attack was not intended at that time they were recalled and joined General Twiggs.

The rifles and 7th infantry slept on the hill, and to that point were brought, in the night, a 24-pounder and two 24-howitzers, which at 7 o'clock in the morning, commenced a cannonade on the enemy's fortification on the Cerro Gordo.

Early in the morning I was reinforced by four companies 1st artillery, under Lieutenant Colonel Childs, and six companies, 3d infantry, under Captain Alexander, and I imme-

diately gave directions to the different commanders to prepare their troops for storming Cerro Gordo. The rifles were directed to move to the left in the ravine and to engage the enemy; and I instructed Major Loring that, as soon as I had discovered that he had commenced the attack, I would move forward the storming force which I was about to organize. The 7th infantry was formed on the right, the 3d infantry on the left, and the artillery was formed in the rear of the infantry, with orders to support it. Observing that a large force was moving from the left on the main road, towards the Cerro Gordo, I deemed it prudent to advance at once, and immediately ordered the charge to be sounded without waiting for the fire of the riflemen. The enemy poured upon my line a most galling fire of grape, cannister, and musketry, from different positions around the hill; but my troops advanced intrepidly and as steadily as on a parade day. I cannot speak too ardently of their animation, zeal, and courage under such trying circumstances, and without which they never could have surmounted the natural and artificial obstacles which opposed their progress.

Around the hill, about sixty yards from the foot, there was a breastwork of stone, which was filled with Mexican troops, who offered an obstinate resistance, continuing to fire until the troops reached the breastwork, and where, for a few moments, bayonets were crossed. Beyond this and immediately around the fort, there was another work from which our advance was again obstinately opposed; but the troops immediately surmounted it, carried the fort, pulled down the Mexican flag, and planted our colors amid the proud rejoicings of our troops.

Agreeably to instructions, the rifles moved to the left, where they became engaged with a succoring force, but which they held in check, notwithstanding a most galling fire from the enemy's entrenchments and from the musketry in front. After the enemy's cannon had been captured, I directed Captain Magruder to take charge of the pieces and to direct their fire upon the enemy, which he executed with zeal and ability.

It is also due to Lieutenant Richardson to state that, as soon as he came into the fort, he took possession of one of

the enemy's guns, and, with his men, promptly turned it with great effect upon the enemy. I also directed Lieutenant-Colonel Plympton, at the same time, to move with his regiment into the Jalapa road to cut off the enemy's retreat, which he promptly executed, and maintained his position until the forts and forces of the enemy had surrendered.

Such is a plain, but I know an imperfect and hasty account of the actions of the 17th and 18th instant. For further particulars, I would respectfully refer the commander of the division to the reports of the different commanders of regiments, which are herewith enclosed.

It is now my delicate duty to refer to the different acts of personal gallantry displayed by individual officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates; and as many of these did not come under my own observation, I would again refer the commander of the division to the different reports of the regimental commanders, with the hope that the merits of all, however humble their situation, may be properly brought before the notice of the government. To Colonel Plympton, Colonel Childs, Major Sumner, Major Loring, and Captain Alexander, my especial thanks are due for their coolness, zeal, gallantry, and for the promptitude with which, on all occasions, they executed my orders. Captain Steptoe, 3d artillery, Lieutenant Hagner, and Lieutenant Reno, ordnance department, and Lieutenant Seymour, of the artillery, rendered efficient service in the management of the artillery on the hill. Lieutenant G. W. Smith, of the engineers, with his company, rendered very efficient service in his own department, as well as in storming the fort. The conduct of Captain Mason, of the rifles, who was so unfortunate as to lose his leg, came under my personal observation, and it is not the first time I have had an opportunity of witnessing his coolness and intrepidity in danger. Captain Magruder's gallantry was conspicuously displayed on several occasions, and he rendered me efficient service. I lament to refer to the death of Lieutenant Ewell, whose gallant demeanor, throughout the several engagements with the enemy, attracted my special notice, and who fell in the breastwork, nobly leading his men to victory. Particular attention is due to Captain

Hanson and Lieutenant Gardner for distinguished gallantry. Major Bainbridge, whose good conduct has been conspicuous on so many occasions since the war with Mexico, was the second officer in rank in his regiment, and deserves my warmest approbation for his gallantry and promptitude. Especial thanks are due to my personal staff, Lieutenant Van Dorn, 7th infantry, Lieutenant Oakes, 2d dragoons, and Lieutenant Derby, topographical engineers, for the efficient aid which they rendered me both days in transmitting my orders and for the individual gallantry which they uniformly displayed. Lieutenant Derby was wounded, and Lieutenant Van Dorn killed two Mexican soldiers at the breastwork with his own hands. I have been reluctant to mention the names of any, where all acted with so much energy, zeal, and intrepidity; no doubt many behaved as well as those I have mentioned, but who did not come under my observation; and I know that all, if occasion had offered, would have gladly embraced the opportunity for personal distinction.

In the two days, I had in my brigade, including the 3d infantry, two officers killed, nine wounded; twenty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates killed, 175 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. The officers killed in my command are: Lieutenants Ewell and Davis, of the rifles; and wounded—Major Sumner, Captain S. T. Mason, Lieutenants G. McLane, D. H. Maury, and A. Gibbs, of the rifles; Lieutenants J. N. Ward and B. E. Bee, 3d infantry; Lieutenant N. J. T. Dana, 7th infantry, and Lieutenant Derby, topographical engineers.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Col. 2d dragoons, commanding 1st brigade.

To Lieut. W. T. H. Brooks, *A. A. A. G., 2d division.*

An incident worthy to be remembered is related by General Harney himself. When the battle was over, a Mexican officer was seen slowly riding along the road at the foot of the hill and in reach of the American fire. The troops, without orders, commenced firing at him, which Colonel Harney perceiving, he gave the order to cease

firing, but before the order could be transmitted, some five hundred guns had been fired at him. The Mexican had never altered his pace, but as soon as the firing ceased he raised his hand to his head and gracefully saluted the Americans.

On the 15th day of May, when the news had reached New Orleans and LaFayette of Colonel Harney's gallant conduct at Cerro Gordo, the citizens made him a present of a horse, which was shipped to him in Mexico, with the accompanying letter, as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, 15th of May, 1847.

Colonel WM. S. HARNEY.

SIR: The undersigned, in behalf of the citizens of New Orleans and LaFayette, have purchased a horse, which they beg you to accept as a token of the esteem and adoration in which you are held by them for your gallant conduct, but more especially for the important services you have rendered our glorious republic in the late battle of Cerro Gordo.

W. B. HIGDON,
JOHN M. CARRIGAN.

On the 18th day of April, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo, Colonel Harney was breveted Brigadier-General in the United States army. He had then held his Colonelcy not quite a year. This compliment came to him as a prompt recognition of his services to his country.

The victorious army moved immediately upon Jalapa, after caring for their wounded and prisoners, which they quietly possessed themselves of, until their baggage and supplies could be moved up.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MEXICAN WAR CONTINUED.

THE victorious Americans took possession of Jalapa on the 19th day of April. The Mexicans abandoned the strong position of La Hoyo, with its munitions and stores, and on the 22d General Worth occupied the Castle of Perote, and captured fifty-four pieces of cannon and a large amount of ammunition. Soon afterwards, on the 15th of May, the ancient city of Puebla was captured by General Worth. The Mexicans had been able to make but little resistance after their signal defeat at Cerro Gordo, and but feeble resistance was offered the American army, reduced by the casualties of battle and the more dire causalties of disease engendered by hardships and climate, to not exceeding five thousand men.

Puebla los Angeles, or city of the Angels, contained eighty thousand inhabitants and is about ninety miles from the City of Mexico, and two hundred miles from Vera Cruz. It is seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. General Scott could have marched on to Mexico, but his effective force was reduced to less than five thousand. Many of his troops were volunteers for twelve months, of some of whom the time had expired, and they had been discharged before reaching Puebla. The American army of invasion, rendezvoused at the Island of Lobos, had been fourteen thousand strong, with the number discharged, the sick and disabled, and the garrison at Jalapa and other places necessary to preserve the communication with Vera Cruz, the effective force had been reduced ten thousand. Even with this small army, such was the spirit and confidence of the Americans that they could, and probably

would, have marched upon the capital city, but the Government at Washington were anxious for peace, and the President and cabinet sent an agent in the person of Mr. Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk in the State Department, to negotiate. General Scott had, after Cerro Gordo, issued a proclamation to the Mexican people, which, with the strict discipline he enforced among the troops, and the humanity to prisoners, as well as fair dealing with the population, had well prepared them for peace.

Mr. Trist, armed with specific instructions and powers, arrived at Jalapa just before the occupation of Puebla. The negotiations of Mr. Trist, as well as the necessity of awaiting reinforcements from the United States, necessitated a comparative cessation of active hostilities; but during this time the troops were drilled and kept active by constant duty. In about two months the army at Puebla was recruited to about eleven thousand effective men.

Thus strengthened and reinforced, a council of war was held on the 5th day of August, and the plans of the commander-in-chief for the advance on the capital were submitted and explained. In making his arrangements for that important and perilous enterprise, General Scott testified his appreciation of Colonel Harney by placing under his command a brigade of cavalry, consisting of the 1st Dragoons, commanded by Captain Kearney, the 2d Dragoons under command of Major Sumner, and the 3d Dragoons under Captain McReynolds. The cavalry brigade under Colonel Harney moved out of Puebla as the advance guard, just preceding the second division under General Twiggs. On the 8th the division of General Quitman followed; Worth's division moved on the 9th, and Pillow's on the 10th. The road taken by the army was the stage road from Vera Cruz, by way of Puebla, to the City of Mexico. The route followed by Cortez over three hundred years before, converges with this road after diverging to the right

near Perote, and passing around Popocatapetl, near Lake Chalco.

The country around Puebla is beautiful, rolling and fertile; the climate is temperate, and there is a continual ascent of the Cordilleras as you move toward the City of Mexico. The snow-capped mountains lay on either side, and the volcanic peak of Popocatapetl arose and towered over the smaller ranges on the left, many miles away.

The army ascended three thousand feet above Puebla in fifty-eight miles, and on the third day reached Rio Trio and the Anahuac range, within forty-five miles of the capital. In front of this the enemy had prepared for resistance, but they had abandoned their intention of offering battle at this point. After passing the Anahuac range several miles, on making a sudden turn to the right, the Americans came in sight of the vast plain, with its beautiful lakes, in which is situated the City of Mexico, and its lofty domes and steeples rose in the clear air. The landscape was most beautiful and picturesque. It lies in a great basin of the Cordilleras, and is dotted with lakes.

On the 10th day of August, General Twiggs encamped at the base of the mountain, and the enemy's scouts began to be seen and felt in every direction, in front and flank. They could see the Lake Tezcuco in their front, and at the lower end of it, about half-way, seven miles off, a fortified mountain called El Penon; a series of other lakes and fortified places defended the approaches to the city which ran by the road from Ayotla, and through lakes and marshes over great causeways.

Before approaching the enemy's abandoned fortifications, General Scott sent for Colonel Harney, on whose gallantry and dash, as well as discretion, he had learned to rely, since the affairs of Madellin and Cerro Gordo, and said to him, "Colonel, I have information from General Worth of the enemy in our front, and in force; I want your most vigilant attention to their movements and approach." Col-

onel Harney replied, "General, whatever force of the enemy there may be, I may not be able to defeat them, but I promise you I can hold them at bay." General Scott seized Colonel Harney by the hand, and said, "Colonel, I have every confidence in you." The facts were, Colonel Harney was well satisfied that General Worth's information was incorrect, for his position in the van and covering the head of the invading forces, gave him facilities for information, which his sleepless vigilance never failed to acquire. In the honorable position of the post of danger, and with the responsible duty of covering the advance, he served from Puebla to the assault of Chapultepec.

On the 11th of August, General Twiggs' division reached Ayotla, about fifteen miles from Mexico by the National road. The other divisions came up in their order and took position; Worth's division at the village of Chalco, behind Lake Chalco, which lies south of Ayotla, and the divisions of Pillow and Quitman between Worth and Twiggs. In front of Twiggs' division lay a fortified mountain called El Penon, and beyond that could be seen Lake Tezcuco, west of which lay the City of Mexico. Passing around the lake, or between it and the Lake Xochimilco, the road from Mexico to Acapulco is reached, on which lie, at or near the road and commanding it, San Antonia, Contreras and Churubusco. These fortified places lie between San Augustine, afterwards a depot of stores and supplies, and the city. Contreras lies nearly four miles northwest of the Acapulco road at San Antonia, and between that and the Tacubaya causeway. Churubusco was a fortified post, or *tete du pont*, at the crossing of a stream or canal of the same name, which commands the Acapulco road. There are three great roads which enter the City of Mexico: the National road, on which Twiggs was encamped at Ayotla, the Acapulco road, and the Tacubaya.

On the 12th of August, a part of the cavalry brigade, of which Colonel Harney was in command, was ordered to

reconnoitre El Penon, a strongly fortified mountain on the road from Ayotla, about half-way to the City of Mexico. This reconnoitering party was composed of the rifle regiment and three companies of cavalry. They performed their duty faithfully and reported the route to Mexico, by that road, impracticable. The rifles and dragoons continued their reconnoissance to the left. They discovered, about five miles from the city, five strong batteries commanding the road at Mexicalcingo, which is at the head of Lake Xochimilco. The reconnoitering party countermarched and found the batteries of El Penon between them and Twiggs' division, but they were not fired on. General Scott decided that to advance by the National road was impracticable, or if practicable, on grounds of humanity, ought not to be undertaken, as it could only be carried by assault, and could not be turned. He, therefore, determined to turn the fortifications of the city, by passing to the west of Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, and made his approaches by the Acapulco road and the Tacubaya. Worth's division was accordingly put in motion, and, marching around the south end of the Lake Chalco, on the 17th day of August reached San Augustine. The other divisions soon followed, and on the 18th all the army was concentrated at San Augustine.

On the 18th of August, Worth's division was advanced from San Augustine towards San Antonia, a fortified place on the Acapulco road, and in a skirmish with the enemy Captain Thornton, of the 2d dragoons, Colonel Harney's regiment, was killed. He was the first man killed in the operations which resulted in the capture of Mexico. General Valencia, in the meantime, with six thousand men, had advanced to the fortified hill of Contreras. General Rincon took command at Churubusco and strengthened the fortifications. The Mexican forces moving within the short lines, made their strongest dispositions for defence at the new points of attack.

It was at this time that Colonel Harney, whose brigade was in constant service as scouts and reconnoitering parties, encountered a man named Fitzwater, an American, who had wandered off to the City of Mexico. This man had been engaged in the business of stage driving, and knew, of course, the roads and causeways. He had married a Mexican woman and was domesticated among them. From him Colonel Harney acquired valuable information as to the vulnerable points of attack, which ultimately determined the commanding General to plan his battles in the manner he so effectually pursued. Santa Anna was rapidly strengthening General Valencia, and reinforcements from the city were reported hourly arriving. Throwing forward General Twiggs' division as a corps of observation, and for the protection of some working parties, who were cutting a road, Captain Magruder's battery was, with great difficulty, got into position. They were met by the Mexicans, with twenty-two pieces of artillery, which, after a severe fight, dismounted all Magruder's guns but one, and killed some fifteen of the cannoniers. The Mexican lancers made several charges, but were repulsed. In this action Colonel Harney rendered efficient service in command of his cavalry.

On the 20th General Scott determined to carry Contreras. General Twiggs' division was first on the ground, and made immediate dispositions for battle; the other corps and divisions were taking their places, in the night-time, without the knowledge of the Mexicans. At 6 A. M., the arrangements for battle were made; when the word was given our men sprang up in the rear and on both flanks of the Mexicans, rushed over the hill, and dashed into the entrenchments. The batteries were taken, and General Valencia's army driven out. The battle was ended almost as soon as begun, and Valencia was pursued over the causeway.

The part taken in this affair by Colonel Harney is men-

tioned in a report made by Captain Kearney, on the 24th day of August, 1847. He says:

After the enemy's works were carried, I was ordered to charge down the road towards the city, after the retreating enemy. On the route I was joined by Colonel Harney with several companies of the 2d dragoons; he assumed command, and directed me with my three troops of dragoons, to place myself and command at the head of the

THE CHARGE.

cavalry column; the Mexicans were overtaken soon after we entered on the causeway, about three-fourths of a mile from the city, and suffered a severe slaughter up to its very gates.

Understanding that a battery was on the end of the causeway next the town, I communicated through Lieutenant Steele, A. A. A. General, to Colonel Harney my

firm intention to charge it, trusting to their panic to enter with the fugitives. Myself, Lieutenant Steele, and Lieutenant Ewell, together with some dragoons whose horses were over-excited, were considerably ahead of the main body, coming full on the redoubt, when the enemy opened a fire of grape upon us, amongst their fugitives, and I gave the command to the men around me to dismount and carry it, presuming that the movement would be observed and followed by the rest of the column. This movement not being understood by our men, and the recall which had been sounded and imperfectly heard from the rear, caused them to halt and retire, but in creditable order.

Also the report of Major Sumner:

HEAD-QUARTERS, 2D DRAGOONS, NEAR THE CITY OF MEXICO,
August 24, 1847.

SIR: In compliance with the direction of Colonel Harney, I submit a brief report of the services of the 2d regiment of dragoons and company I, mounted rifles, during the late operations.

We marched from Puebla, at the head of the army, on the 7th instant. On our arrival at the hacienda "Buena Vista," at the foot of the western slope of the mountains, on the 10th instant, we first met the enemy. They appeared in considerable force about a mile in our front, and preparations were immediately made to charge them, on which they disappeared, and we took quarters in the hacienda. Shortly afterwards, they appeared again and drove in several of our men who had gone some distance to the front. Colonel Harney then ordered me to take a squadron and pursue them, which was done at a rapid pace, he supporting me with the rest of the regiment. The enemy fled so fast we could not overtake them, and we halted at the end of a mile and a half.

On the 17th instant, as we approached San Augustine, the enemy again appeared in force, but they retired before us. Captain Blake of the 2d dragoons, who commanded the advanced guard of the army, entered the town and took possession of it after a skirmish with the enemy. On the 18th, we marched at an early hour with the 1st division, Captain Thornton taking the lead with the advanced guard.

As we approached San Antonia, their guns were partially concealed, and the brave Captain Thornton unfortunately advanced too far, when he received a cannon shot from their battery which struck him in the breast and killed him instantly. On the 19th, at the battle of St. Heronimo, my command was held in reserve within range of the enemy's shells. On the 20th, it became necessary to split up the cavalry into so many detachments, that both Colonel Harney and myself were left without commands for the greater part of the day. On this day, Captains Hardee and Ruff were holding important points round San Augustine, and the former was attacked by a large band of guerrillas, who were repulsed and driven off by Captain Hardee and his subaltern, Lieutenant Anderson. The firing being heard at San Augustine, two companies of the 2d and one of the 3d dragoons were promptly taken out to his assistance by Lieutenant Colonel Moore of the 3d dragoons. But the enemy had retired before they arrived, and further pursuit was deemed unnecessary. In this encounter, between thirty and forty horses with arms and accoutrements were captured by Captain Hardee. Captain Blake, with his squadron, was engaged in conducting and securing the prisoners taken at St. Heronimo. Captain Ker, of the 2d dragoons, was ordered to report to General Pierce, and was engaged with the enemy for some time, and afterwards in the charge, under the direction of Colonel Harney, that drove the flying enemy into the city. During all these operations, my command has been actively engaged in reconnoitering, on picket guards and patrol duty, and as the corps of horse is very small in comparison with the other corps of the army, these duties have been very severe.

It gives me great pleasure to add, that the regular staff officers, Lieutenant Oakes, as adjutant, and Lieutenant Tree, as quartermaster, have rendered important services, and I am much indebted to them for their zeal and energy.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. V. SUMNER,
Major 2d Dragoons, Com'g.

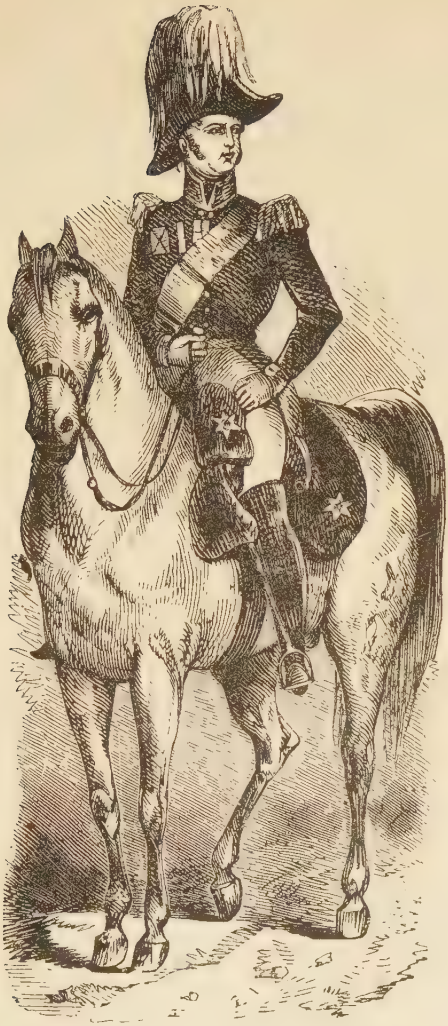
Lieutenant WM. STEELE,
Act. Adj. Gen., Cav. Brig.

About eight o'clock A. M. of the same day Churubusco

was attacked, and after proper dispositions the *tete du pont* was carried by storm, with the outworks and forts which covered and defended it. At San Pablo, which was the citadel of Churubusco, was posted a company of American deserters, who were organized in the name of St. Patrick's, and were commanded by a deserter named Riley. They fought desperately and with great skill. There were of them about one hundred, and expecting neither quarter nor mercy, they made great havoc among the assailing party. They would not only not surrender, but when the Mexicans hung out the white flag, they pulled it down. San Pablo was at last entered, sword in hand, and the deserters captured at their guns. The whole army was engaged on this day, and carried the enemy's works at all points, and Colonel Harney's brave dragoons, commanded by Captain Kearney, penetrated to the very gates of the city, when they were recalled.

After this signal victory, propositions were made for peace; Mexican commissioners were appointed, and ineffectual efforts were made by Mr. Trist, the agent of the United States, under his instructions from Washington, for a treaty of peace. They disagreed about the cession of the southern portion of New Mexico to the United States by way of indemnity. The negotiations for peace delayed or suspended operations.

On the 7th of September, General Scott made a reconnoissance of the enemy's defences in front of the Tacubaya. He had established his headquarters at the village of Tacubaya, about two miles and a half from the city, and before him lay the formidable works at and around Chapultepec. It was necessary to possess himself of this castle before entering the city, for its guns covered both the causeways by which it was entered and the city itself. Chapultepec is a fortified hill of porphyritic rock, and was occupied at that time as a military school. At the base of the hill is Molino del Rey, or King's Mill, and Casa de Mata, another



GENERAL SCOTT AT THE CITY OF MEXICO.

strong work of massive stone, is about four hundred yards west of Molino del Rey, and in a straight line with Chapultepec. Molino del Rey must be taken first.

Colonel Harney participated in the assault upon the enemy's works, which began at three o'clock in the morning of that day. At one time the Americans were repulsed, and fell back under the cover of the fire from Duncan's battery. The battery continued firing upon one point, on the enemy's right flank, where Colonel Harney could see no indications of an enemy. He concluded to ride forward alone and reconnoitre. The enemy allowed him to approach within about one hundred and twenty yards. Whereupon he wheeled his horse and retreated at a square trot, keeping out of the line of their fire. When he had reached near enough his own lines, his brother officers called to him to run or he would be shot. He replied, "The rascals never hit anything they shoot at." They did not, as in the case of the Mexican officer at Cerro Gordo, give him any opportunity of saluting them.

Both Casa de Mata and Molino del Rey were taken by assault, leaving the castle of Chapultepec alone standing between the American army and the doomed city. Casa de Mata was blown up, and the ammunition and stores in Molino del Rey were destroyed, and General Scott proceeded to make his dispositions for the final attack on Chapultepec.

Colonel Harney was ordered on the tenth day of September by the General-in-chief to proceed with the 2d battalion of cavalry to Mexicalcingo, which had been made a depot of supplies, to take command of the troops of that place, and make such dispositions as would protect the depots and hospitals collected there against the large forces of the enemy known to be outside the city. Colonel Harney relieved Lieutenant Colonel Bonham of the 12th infantry, who was in command of four weak companies of his own regiment, one of the 3d and one of the 7th infantry,

not more than three hundred effective men, to which Harney's battalion being added (about two hundred), made a force of not more than five hundred. Colonel Harney made the best dispositions in his power by arming all camp followers, and enlisting teamsters to strengthen his forces. He mounted several pieces of captured artillery and prepared for an attack. In this service he remained during the stirring events of the few days which were signalized by the storming of Chapultepec. His brigade was, in the meantime, engaged in the arduous and perilous business of making reconnoissances, and in the hard fighting which enabled General Scott to enter in triumph the ancient city of the Montezumas. Major Sumner commanded during this time the six companies of the second dragoons, which belonged to Colonel Harney's regiment, serving with his brigade of cavalry. It was a sad trial to the gallant soldier who had so distinguished himself and illustrated his soldierly qualities at Cerro Gordo to be kept upon such inconsiderable duty, while new battles were being fought and fresh laurels won. The habits of discipline and considerations of duty and patriotism forced him to submit and obey. But the duty to which he was assigned demanded a steady, determined and able officer.

In the meantime, pending the negotiations, ineffectual as they proved, between Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners, the deserters captured at San Pablo were tried by court-martial. We quote from Mansfield's Mexican War, page 280:

Desertion in the face of an enemy, and during the existence of actual war, has been, among all nations, and in all time, punished with death. It is treason—disloyalty—in its worst, least excusable, and most dangerous form. Of this crime, were "the companies of St. Patrick" palpably and undeniably guilty. They had fought in the ranks of the Mexican army, at the batteries of Churubusco; they had fought longest and hardest against those very colors which they had sworn to defend; they were deserters, and many

of them were taken prisoners. Soon after the battles of the 20th, and while the negotiations were pending, *twenty-nine* of these men were tried by a general court-martial, of which Colonel Riley of the 2d infantry was president. The court found these men guilty, (two-thirds of the whole court concurring in each several case,) and sentenced each one of them to hang by the neck till dead. In a general order, dated the 8th of September, General Scott approved the sentence, with the exception of three, who had deserted previous to the commencement of the war, and two others, who were recommended to favor by the court; and four, in whose palliation there appeared some mitigating circumstances. The remainder were executed according to the sentence. *Sixteen* were executed at San Angel, on the 10th of September. *Six* of the whole number tried were deserters from the 3d infantry, *three* from the 5th infantry, *four* from the 7th infantry, *two* from the 2d infantry, *five* from the 3d artillery, *six* from the 4th artillery, *one* from the 1st artillery, and *two* from the 2d dragoons. General Scott, in examining the proceedings of the court, appears to have released every man from the penalty of death, in whose favor any reason or mitigation could be pleaded. Among the three whom he found were not legally subject to the penalty of death, because they had deserted previous to the commencement of the war, was the notorious Riley, the commander of the deserters' company. His sentence was commuted, so that he was lashed and branded. The lesson given by this terrible execution was undoubtedly a severe one, but one which war necessarily carries with it, and without which the discipline of the army could not be maintained.

The unpleasant duty of hanging the twenty doomed men devolved on General Harney, while he was detached from his brigade in command of Mexicalcingo. The hour appointed for their execution, was during the last day's struggle for the possession of that important and last Mexican stronghold. The place of execution was in sight of the castle, and where they could see and hear the terrible struggle. Seeing the place would soon fall, he ordered the execution delayed until the condemned deserters should

see the Mexican flag come down and the American colors run up. The prisoners, hearing him give this order, raised a shout, because few believed Chapultepec pregnable, or that it could be taken. He had but a few moments to wait, for suddenly the firing ceased, and the stars and stripes arose where the Mexican colors had just struck.

While at the City of Mexico, and before the American army entered within the gates, Colonel Harney sent Captain Kearney, with two companies, to make a reconnoissance. Soon ascertaining that Captain Kearney was going beyond the boundaries of safety, Colonel Harney sent his aid-de-camp, Captain May, to tell Captain Kearney to return, that danger was just in the distance. After Captain May had gone Colonel Harney, supposing it possible that Kearney would not obey the order, at once sent his orderly, a Mr. Donovan, with peremptory orders for Captain Kearney to return. When Mr. Donovan arrived near the gate of San Antonia, or gate of Santa Anna, he was seized upon by Mexican officers, who hastily came out of the gate to kill him. In this moment of peril, Donovan's horse was shot, fell on him, and he himself was about to become a victim of the enemy. A Mexican officer approached on horse-back, and asked him (Donovan) if he was an officer. Donovan replied: "I am Colonel Harney's orderly." The officer, who was the son of an ex-Mexican Minister to Washington City, while a boy and in the American capital with his father, made the acquaintance of Colonel Harney, and held him in high esteem, told Donovan he knew Colonel Harney, and for his high regard for Harney, at once rescued the orderly from death by the hands of the Mexican officers, who came from within the gates. The Mexican officer, seeing the perilous condition of the orderly, told him to get upon his horse behind him. The orderly did so, and offered the Mexican officer his sword, in conformity to the duty of a captive to a victor. The officer said: "No! keep the sword and help to defend yourself," in the mean-

time hastening away with Donovan to a place of safety. He was taken to the headquarters of the Mexican army, and his life preserved. During his stay at the headquarters Donovan was offered different commissions in the Mexican army, but declined all of them, preferring to remain an American citizen. Captain Kearney lost an arm while indulging in rashness, and then hastily sought safety within the lines of his own people. In this instance, Donovan found Harney's name as potential in the hour of peril, in the last trial of life, as did Crœsus the name of Solon when the officers of the army of Cyrus had him placed upon the funeral pile and the torch applied.

On the 18th day of September, the American army entered the City of Mexico, and General Harney, although not relieved from the command that exiled him from the storming of Chapultepec, placed his next senior officer in command and entered the city with the victorious army. He reported the fact to General Scott, who said that the occasion was so propitious, and the duty assigned to Colonel Harney so important, that he wanted him to hurry back and give his personal attention to the charge committed to his care.

At the City of Mexico Colonel Harney found quarters, and occupied the palace where the late emperor Iturbide had been crowned. Iturbide was the lineal descendant of Hernando Cortez, the first conqueror of Mexico, by Mariamser, a native Aztec, and likewise a descendant of Montezuma. The palace was most luxuriously furnished and indicated the luxury and taste of the early Aztec race. While here he resumed command of his brigade, and on one occasion, while he was dining, there were brought to him some Mexicans who had been caught in an attempt to outrage the Mexican wife of a Mr. Hall, whose services had been valuable to him. At that time the Mexicans, from a feeling of jealousy, were disposed to persecute all the Mexican women who had married or cohabited with

American soldiers. Without thinking, supposing it was a case where the gringoes, or Mexican outlaws, were venting their spite on a weak and defenceless woman, he directed the soldiers who brought in the prisoners to dispose of them. The disposition the soldiers made of them was to whip them without ceremony, and with short shrift. But it was, unfortunately, the fact that they were French subjects, and not Mexicans, and the French Consul and French Minister made complaints to General Scott and the Government at Washington, which was the occasion of a severe reprimand from President Polk, and more than all, of great regrets to himself, for the Colonel was always a great admirer and friend of the French—he has married his two daughters to French gentlemen, one of them to the Count de Noue, and the other to the Viscount de Thury, who served in the late war with the Mexicans under Maximilian.

The following order of reprimand was, by order of the President, sent to Colonel Harney, by the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
December 11, 1848.

SIR: The Government of the French Republic has complained against you, through their Minister in the United States, for having caused a degrading punishment to be inflicted in a summary manner, in the City of Mexico, on the 26th of October, 1847, upon Marie Courtine, a French citizen, for an alleged civil offence, upon the statement of the party aggrieved, without trial and without having heard what the accused had to say in his defence. Your explanations have been submitted to the President, and whilst he feels that there was cause for your indignation against the conduct of Courtine for outrages committed by him upon the person of Mrs. Hall, the wife of an American citizen, yet you ought not to have forgotten that you had no jurisdiction whatever over the offence, and that every man is entitled to a hearing and fair trial before punishment. Your proper course would have been to refer the party

aggrieved to the Civil Governor of Mexico for redress. The President cannot, therefore, but view your conduct in causing Courtine to be whipped, and more especially as this was done not at your own discretion, but at the mercy of the injured husband, as worthy of censure. Of this act the French Government have a just right to complain, and it was well calculated to impair the cherished friendship which the President desires shall ever exist between the two Republics.

It is true that at the time when this punishment was inflicted, you did not know that Courtine was a Frenchman; and from what you state of your feelings of just regard for that distinguished nation, it is almost certain that had you possessed this knowledge, you would not have suffered him to be punished without trial. But your ignorance upon this subject was occasioned by your omission to hear the accused, and by your having summarily delivered him and his companion over to Mr. Hall and the guard in whose custody he was, with the declaration that "there is my back yard, you can take them in and do with them what you please, I shall not interfere."

It is painful to the President to censure the conduct of a gallant and meritorious officer like yourself; but a sense of what is due to justice and to the French nation requires this at his hands.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Brevet Brigadier-General W. S. Harney, U. S. Army.

Shortly after the capture of Mexico, Colonel Harney was, in October, 1847, ordered as bearer of dispatches to Washington. On his way to Vera Cruz he was assigned the duty of commanding a force in convoy of a train of treasure. Among the friends who accompanied him to Vera Cruz was Captain Cassius M. Clay, who had been a prisoner with the Mexicans since the battle of Buena Vista. Captain Clay had been released from his captivity along with Major John P. Gaines by an honorable exchange. The friendship theretofore existing between them was

strengthened and consolidated on this journey. It was a tedious trip, for in passing over the mountains the train was so long that the last wagon camped at night where the first one had camped the night before. He arrived at Vera Cruz in due time and embarked for the States.

On his way to Washington he was very near being the victim of an ovation at New Orleans, the citizens of which place had testified their admiration of his courage after the battle of Cerro Gordo, by the present of a horse. He managed to elude their hospitable demonstration and avoid the hero worship they designed for him, for it was repugnant to the modesty of the soldier, as well as the sensibility of the gentleman. But at Saint Louis, where his family and friends lived, he was surprised by an ovation which was gratifying at the same time it was annoying. A coach with six white horses drew up to his residence; he was captured and carried in state to the People's Theatre, then situated where the present old Custom-house is now, southeast corner of Third and Olive streets, and in a private box exposed to the admiration of the thronged audience which filled the pit, the galleries and boxes, attracted there that night more to see the hero of Cerro Gordo than to see the play.

At Philadelphia, subsequently, he arrived at a time when the returned volunteers from Mexico were having a celebration, and although he avoided all demonstration, his hotel was besieged by large crowds of people, who were packed in the streets for two squares. He was talking to some ladies on the balcony at the time of this demonstration, unsuspicious that he was the object and cause of the assemblage, till his attention was called to the fact of the frequent mention of his name. He withdrew to his room, and resisted all importunities to show himself to the crowd. They even came to his room, and were very near breaking open his doors. Like Coriolanus, he was a soldier and unfitted for the immodest arts of the demagogue, unwilling

to parade his honorable scars to the applause of the populace.

A noteworthy fact, which shows something of the inside character and humanity of General Harney, is related in reference to a matter connected with some soldiers in the City of Mexico. When the United States army entered the city, and peace negotiations were going on, many of our soldiers won the esteem and love of elegant and refined women; matrimonial alliances were formed, and when peace was declared and the American army was ordered to vacate the city and return home, these soldiers, who had won the love of the Castilian maidens, holding that they had served their country faithfully and helped to win the honors of a conquest, were entitled to remain in Mexico with their loves. Acting upon this view of the case, trouble was about to ensue by declaring these soldiers to be deserters. Colonel Harney, knowing the facts, reported them to the President as soon as he arrived in Washington, and entreated the President to allow the soldiers to remain in Mexico and marry as each desired. The President approved Colonel Harney's views of the matter and ordered that the soldiers be relieved and remain with their loves.

The conduct of Colonel Harney in this matter cannot fail to meet the approval of the best judgment of the people and entitle him to the lasting gratitude of those directly concerned.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SIOUX EXPEDITION.

AFTER his arduous service in the Mexican war, and on the restoration of peace, by the treaty of Guadaloupe, Brevet Brigadier General Harney was ordered to the command of his regiment, the Second Dragoons, on the frontier of the eighth department. His head-quarters were at San Antonio, and while there he made the acquaintance of the son of Audubon, the celebrated American naturalist. The young gentleman was collecting specimens of the fauna of the United States. He had collected nearly all his specimens, and wanted only one more, a specimen of the leopard family, which was very rare, and which he had been unable to procure. The General was never without his pack of hounds, and undertook to find one for him. He sallied out the next morning with his dogs, and by great good fortune they treed an animal, of which the General could only see the head. It occupied a position in a live oak tree, near the San Antonio spring, which rendered it impossible to shoot it, except in the small portion exposed. Drawing a bead with his rifle, he delivered one fire, as he supposed at first, without effect. The animal kept his position without moving a muscle, and he supposed he had missed it, but as he was preparing to give it another trial, with a few convulsive motions the strange beast tumbled dead out of the tree. It proved to be what the naturalist wanted to make his collection complete, and General Harney presented Audubon with its skin.

General Harney served in Texas, with occasional detached service and short leaves of absence, until August, 1852, when he was relieved by General Persifer Smith, an

officer with whom he had seen much service, and to whom he was much attached. He was then granted a leave of absence to December 9, 1852, when he was ordered again to take command of the eighth military department in Texas, with head-quarters at Austin, where he remained until May, 1853, when he was absent again on leave to December, 1853, at which time he resumed command of the Second Dragoons until July 20, 1854. This long and arduous service on the frontier induced the Government to grant him, at his request, leave of absence for two years, that he might visit Europe, and spend some time with his family. Mrs. Harney, with her daughters, had resided for some time in Paris, and their only son, John M., was in feeble health, and it was hoped that travel and change of climate would benefit him. The condition of the young man was such as to cause great solicitude to his parents, and General Harney had hopes of spending his long leave in the society of his family. But in the fall of 1854 he received at Paris the following order to return and take command of an expedition against the Sioux Indians, who were making hostile demonstrations in Kansas and Nebraska:

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, Oct. 26, 1854.

SIR: I am instructed by the Secretary of War to inform you that an expedition will be organized this winter to operate against the Sioux Indians as early as possible next spring. Four companies of your regiment will form a part of this expedition, and it is the intention of the Secretary of War to place you in command of the troops, if you should be in position in season. The expedition will be put in motion as soon as the navigation of the Missouri river opens in the spring, and it is important that the officer who is to command should be at St. Louis by the first of February next, in order to make timely preparations for the movement.

The Secretary of War desires that you will make your arrangements to be at St. Louis at the time above indicated,

and that if anything should occur to prevent your doing this, that you will report the fact as soon as possible, as it will then be necessary to designate some other officer for the command.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. COOPER,
Adjutant General.

Brevet Brigadier-General W. S. HARNEY,
Colonel 2d Dragoons.

General Harney at once set out for the United States, leaving Paris on Christmas eve, 1854, and after a prosperous voyage, reported to the Department at Washington. On his arrival, President Pierce sent for him, to whom Colonel Harney complained he had not been allowed to enjoy the leave of absence granted him. The President frankly said to him: "General Harney, you have done so much that I will not order you, but I do wish you would consent to assume the command and whip the Indians for us." General Harney accepted the command, and repaired to St. Louis, and thence to Fort Leavenworth, where he made his preparations for the expedition. He took four companies of dragoons, a portion of the 6th infantry, and one company of mounted artillery. He expected a general Indian war, with the whole of the powerful Sioux tribes.

Late in the fall he marched from Fort Leavenworth, by the California road, crossed the South Platte, and thence moved across the North Platte, and took position at a high point known as Ash Hollow, so called from a growth of ash wood in the vicinity.

Although General Harney had long ago demonstrated, by years of arduous labor, that he was the most distinguished Indian fighter belonging to the American army, it was the impression at the War office and at Fort Leavenworth that his command was not sufficiently strong to go with safety into the heart of the Indian country, where hostile bands were expected to be encountered on all sides. The Government therefore ordered General Sumner to

move with a force from Fort Leavenworth and support General Harney. Sumner soon followed, but did not go far, when he turned about and took his command back to Fort Leavenworth, where he went into winter quarters, leaving Harney to prosecute the Indian campaign the best he could. This conduct enraged General Harney, and in due time he had Sumner arraigned for trial under the laws of war. This led to trouble between Harney and Sumner, which, no doubt, was the culmination of an unfriendly feeling engendered in the Mexican war through the partiality of General Scott toward General Sumner. Sumner was not relieved from the stain of his unprofessional and ungallant conduct toward Harney in abandoning him in the enemy's country. On the other hand, Harney made a perilous, but victorious and triumphant campaign and won thereby personal as well as national honors from Sumner, by courageous manhood and duty done.

It is proper to look a little into the causes of the Indian war. It will always be found that the Indians have never been entirely at fault, and although they were always savage and cruel in war, they have usually been provoked by injustice, fraud or gross wrong. The want of sagacity in our Government has greatly prolonged and brutalized the Indian wars. They have unfortunately made our civilization odious, and if our Indian history could be written by the Indians themselves, perhaps impartial posterity would do them the tardy justice their more powerful Christian cotemporaries have denied.

Some emigrants to California, with their cattle and household goods, had passed the Big Platte, some thirty miles below Fort Laramie. One of their cows gave out, and they left it with the Bois Brule Indians. The Indians took charge of it. Shortly after, an Ogallala chief paid the Bois Brules a visit. The accustomed hospitality of the nomadic tribes of America demanded of his hosts that they should offer him something to eat. The Bois Brules were

unfortunately on very short rations, and could offer but slim accommodations in the way of a feast. The honest savages had allowed the white man's cow to fatten on the grass and recover her strength, and the temptations of almost starvation, in the absence of buffalo and the always insufficient supplies furnished by the rascally agent and contractor, had never tempted them to violate the sanctity of the white man's sacred trust. But the Ogallala chief was a guest, and in the absence of any material for a feast, they apologized for their seeming want of hospitality by explaining that they had nothing to eat. The Ogallala chief remarked that he had seen a white buffalo (the Indian name for a cow) on the prairie. The Bois Brules explained that the cow belonged to the white people and that they never disturbed their cattle. The Ogallala chief and his warriors took in the situation and soon went out on a hunt. They brought in the white buffalo and had a feast. The emigrant who owned the cow heard that it had been killed, and made out a bill for it, which was paid by the officer in command at Fort Laramie. The officer then sent out Lieut. Grattan, with thirty soldiers, to the Bois Brules to bring the warrior who had killed the cow into the fort. The Lieutenant, with his men, went to the village. The soldiers were drunk, and on reaching the village they demanded of Black Beaver, the chief of the Bois Brules, the man who had killed the cow. Of course they would not surrender up their guest. Black Beaver said, "I cannot give up our guest, but he has behaved badly and you can take him; he is in that lodge. I will not deliver him; it is against our laws and customs. They would kill me if I gave him up." The Lieutenant replied, "No, you must bring him here." Black Beaver replied, "No, it is against our rules, and I would rather be killed by you than by my own people for violating the duty of hospitality." Then the drunken Lieutenant ordered his men to fire. In the meantime, the Indians who saw the Lieutenant talking with their chief,

prepared for battle. Black Beaver was killed, and no sooner had the whites discharged the first volley than the Indians opened on them and killed the Lieutenant, his interpreter and all his detachment but one man. After this affair darkness came on, and an Indian warrior, walking over the scene of carnage, found one soldier still alive, whom he took into his lodge and nursed till he got well. This was the beginning of an Indian war, the occasion being the gross wrong and fault of the commander of the Americans.

This sad occasion is worthy a thought. The savage had his custom, born of his honor and integrity. It was the simple conviction and expression of his heart. But to him it was as sacred and worthy of regard as the faith of the Christian and the words of the civilized man. The Indian, in his native home and depressed in his poverty, was still true to the customs established by his ancestors and made sacred by generations of usage. The white man, clothed with superior power, but less of the heart, enters the home, the community of the red man and tramples down his sacred customs and inhumanly murders his directors and rulers. "The sacred rights of mankind," said Alexander Hamilton, "are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of the divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power." A people of English speech and Anglo-Saxon lineage should remember, in passing upon these scenes, that custom makes the common law, and before they have one word of condemnation for the barbarian of the frontier, consider how the observance of custom would have been their own perfect protection.

As General Harney approached the Indian country, he received a message from Little Thunder, by a trader named Vasquez. Little Thunder said he would fight him or shake hands with him. General Harney had learned about the

situation of the Indians, and had reached a position commanding their village. He made his dispositions for an attack before daylight. As soon as the Indians discovered his position, Little Thunder mounted his pony and rode over to General Harney's camp. He offered his hand to the American commander. General Harney refused his hand and told him he came for a fight, that his men had been robbing the mails and killing the emigrants, and that he intended to punish them. Little Thunder was apprehensive Harney would keep him prisoner of war, but he was informed he could go back to his people and prepare for battle. The American guns were superior, and made great havoc among the savages. The Indians lost seventy-two men before the Americans lost even one! The Indians retreated into the hollow, and placed their women and children for safety in a cave. From this cave there were shot some arrows against the Americans, which wounded some white men. The soldiers fired deadly volleys into the cave, but, when the commander ascertained that there were only women and children in the cave, he ordered the soldiers to cease firing. The Indians were soon forced to retreat, and being encumbered with their women and children, General Harney allowed them to make good their retreat. The ravine could only be entered from either end, and after allowing them to escape, there was a running fight, in which three dragoons were killed.

The report of the fight, which we insert entire, gives a detailed account that will be of interest to our readers:

REPORT OF GENERAL HARNEY, COMMANDER OF THE SIOUX EXPEDITION.

HEADQUARTERS SIOUX EXPEDITION,
Camp on Blue Water Creek, N. T.,
September 5, 1855.

COLONEL: I have the honor to report for the information of the general-in-chief that on my arrival at Ash Hollow,

BATTLE OF ASH HOLLOW.

in the evening of the 2d instant, I ascertained that a large portion of the Brule band of the Sioux Nation, under "Little Thunder," was encamped on Blue Water Creek, (Mee-na-to-wah-pah) about six miles northwest of Ash Hollow, and four from the left bank of the North Platte.

Having no doubt, from the information I had received from the people of the country I had previously met on the road, and from the guides accompanying me, of the real character and hostile intentions of the party in question, I at once commenced preparations for attacking it. I ordered Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke, 2d dragoons, with companies "E" and "K" of the same regiment, light company "G," 4th artillery, and company "E," 10th infantry, all mounted, to move at three o'clock, A. M., on the third instant, and secure a position which would cut off the retreat of the Indians to the Sand Buttes, the reputed stronghold of the Brules. This movement was executed in a most faultless and successful manner—not apparently having attracted the notice or excited the suspicion of the enemy up to the very moment of the encounter.

At 4:30 o'clock, A. M., I left my camp with companies "A," "E," "H," "I," and "K," 6th infantry, under the immediate command of Major A. Cady, of that regiment, and proceeded towards the principal village of the Brules, with a view to attacking it openly in concert with the surprise contemplated through the cavalry. But before reaching it, the lodges were struck, and their occupants commenced a rapid retreat up the valley of the Blue Water, precisely in the direction from whence I expected the mounted troops. They halted short of these, however, and a parley ensued between the chief and myself, in which I stated the causes of dissatisfaction which the Government had towards the Brules, and closed the interview by telling him that his people had depredated upon and insulted our citizens whilst moving quietly through our country; that they had massacred our troops under the most aggravated circumstances, and that now the day of retribution had come; that I did not wish to harm him personally, as he professed to be a friend to the whites, but that he must either deliver up the young men, whom

he acknowledged he could not control, or they must suffer the consequences of their past misconduct and take the chances of battle. Not being able, of course, however willing he might have been, to deliver up all the butchers of our people, "Little Thunder" returned to his band to warn them of my decision, and to prepare them for the contest that must follow. Immediately after his disappearance from my view, I ordered the infantry to advance, the leading company (Captain Todd's) as skirmishers, supported by company "H," 6th infantry (under Lieutenant McCleary), the remaining companies of the 6th being held in hand for ulterior movements. The skirmishers, under Captain Todd, opened their fire, crossed the bluffs on the right bank of the stream (where the Indians had taken up their last position) in a very spirited and gallant manner, driving the savages therefrom into the snare laid for them by the cavalry, which last troops burst upon them so suddenly and so unexpectedly as to cause them to cross, instead of ascending the valley of the Blue Water and seek an escape through the only avenue now left open to them, through the bluffs of the left bank of that stream. But although they availed themselves of this outlet from complete capture, they did not do so without serious molestation, for the infantry not only took them in flank with their long-range rifles, but the cavalry made a most spirited charge upon their opposite or left flank and rear, pursuing them for five or six miles over a very rough country, killing a large number of them and completely dispersing the whole party. This brilliant charge of cavalry was supported, as far as practicable, by the whole body of the infantry, who were eager from the first for a fray with the butchers of their comrades of Lieutenant Grattan's party.

The results of this affair were: 86 killed, 5 wounded, about 70 women and children captured, 50 mules and ponies taken, besides an indefinite number killed and disabled. The amount of provisions and camp equipage must have composed nearly all the enemy possessed.

The casualties of the command amounted to 4 killed, 4 severely wounded, 3 slightly wounded, and 1 missing, supposed to have been killed or captured by the enemy. I enclose herewith a list of the above, and also field

returns, exhibiting the strength of the troops engaged in the combat.

With regard to the officers and troops of my command, I have never seen a finer military spirit displayed generally; and if there has been any material difference in the services they have rendered it must be measured chiefly by the opportunities they had for distinction. Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke and Major Cady, the commanders of the mounted and foot forces, respectively, carried out my instructions to them with signal alacrity, zeal and intelligence. The company commanders, whose position either in the engagement or in the pursuit, brought them in closest contact with the enemy, were Captain Todd, of the 6th infantry; Captain Steele and Lieutenant Robertson, of the 2d dragoons, and Captain Heth, 10th infantry. Captain Howe and his Company ("G," 4th artillery,) participated largely in the earlier part of the engagement, but for reasons stated in his commander's report, he took no active part in the pursuit. Brevet Major Woods, Captain Wharton and Lieutenant Patterson, of the 6th infantry, with their companies, rendered effective service as reserves and supports, taking an active part in the combat when circumstances would permit. Colonel Cooke notices the conduct of Lieutenants Buford and Wright, regimental quartermaster and adjutant of the 2d dragoons, in a flattering manner. Lieutenants Drum, Hudson and Mendenhall, 4th artillery, Lieutenants Hight and Livingston, 2d dragoons, and Lieutenant Dudley, 10th infantry, gave efficient aid to their company and commanders.

I should do injustice to Mr. Joseph Tesson, one of my guides, were I to omit a mention of his eminently valuable services in conducting the column of cavalry to its position in the rear of the Indian village. To his skill as a guide, and his knowledge of the character and habits of the enemy, I ascribe much of the success gained in the engagement. Mr. Carsey, also chief of the guides, rendered good service in transmitting my orders.

The members of my personal staff rendered me most efficient service in the field. Major O. F. Winship, assistant adjutant general and chief of the staff, and Lieutenant Polk, 2d infantry, my aid-de-camp, in conveying my orders

to different portions of the command, discharged their duties with coolness, zeal and energy. Assistant surgeon Ridgely, of the medical staff, was indefatigable in his attentions to the suffering wounded, both of our own troops and of the enemy. Lieutenant Warren, topographical engineers, was most actively engaged, previous to and during the combat, reconnoitering the country and the enemy, and has subsequently made a sketch of the former, which I enclose herewith. Captain Van Vliet, assistant quartermaster, was charged with the protection of the train—a service for which his experience on the plains rendered him eminently qualified. Lieutenant Balch, of the ordnance, was also left in charge of the stores of his department.

I enclose herewith several papers found in the baggage of the Indians, some of which are curiosities, and others may serve to show their disposition towards the whites. They were mostly taken, as their dates and marks will indicate, on the occasion of the massacre and plunder of the mail party in November last. There are also in the possession of officers and others in camp the scalps of two white females, and the remnant of the clothing, etc., carried off by the Indians in the Grattan massacre; all of which, in my judgment, sufficiently characterize the people I have had to deal with.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brevet Brigadier General, &c.

Lieutenant-Colonel L. THOMAS,
Ass't Adjutant Gen'l, Headquarters of the Army, N. Y.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
New York, Sept. 29, 1855.

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant General, by direction of the General-in-chief, who highly approves of the conduct of Brevet Brigadier General Harney and his command.

L. THOMAS,
Ass't Adjutant General.

Respectfully submitted to the Secretary of War.

S. COOPER,
Adjutant General.

October 1, 1855.

It is due to General Harney's horse, "Buncombe," to say that, after his return from the Mexican war, General Harney took him with him on the Sioux expedition in 1855–6, and such was the remarkable intelligence of the horse

GENERAL HARNEY AND "BUNCOMBE."

that while on duty and service about the camp, he learned the distinct smell of the buffalo, the wolf and the Indian; and during the night, in the enemy's country, when all had gone to sleep and the guard were ignorant of the approach of an enemy, Buncombe would report, and whether

there be wolf, buffalo or Indian, Buncombe would smell the intruder and *at once* rise to his feet and begin to snort and stamp. And if the alarm was for an Indian, Buncombe would stamp harder and more often and snort louder. His alarm was invariably correct, and in many instances the lives of men were saved by his signals. After serving his master well, and making an honorable record for himself, he was retired, and in the quiet of life he became so fat that he died without a pain or struggle.

From Ash Hollow General Harney moved to Fort Laramie. From there he intended to enter upon a general winter campaign, but after traveling something like one hundred and thirty miles along the foot of the Black Hills, without finding any Indians, he encamped one night and there fell a very heavy snow, with every indication of severe weather. The General endeavored after the snow to find the traces of Indians, which, being unable to discover, he moved with his command to old Fort Pierre, where he wintered.

In the prosecution of this campaign, the engineers, taking notes of the country, found one mountainous formation much superior to any other in that region. Upon this they conferred the name of their commander and called it Harney's Peak. This peak is 1665 feet in height, and the name thus given is recognized by the United States Government, and placed upon its official maps. When, in 1874, the United States surveying expedition, under the escort of General Custar, entered that region and arrived at Harney's Peak, General Custar and his staff alighted from their horses under the shadow of the mountain, fired a salute, and drank a health to General Harney, the chieftain who had long gone before with the sword and the axe, and marked out a path in the wilderness, and given a name to history and science.

During this winter he sent word to the chiefs of all the hostile tribes and wished them to meet him in the spring.

They accordingly came in, Little Thunder among them, —all except one band—and held a council on some logs lying around the Fort. Harney made the first speech, laying down the terms of peace. The chiefs made speeches, and the conference resulted in a treaty.

The chiefs met General Harney at Fort Pierre, and the conference between him and the chiefs commenced on the first day of March, 1856. The Fort and other improvements were very limited in their accommodations, and the conference was held in the open air, the contracting parties usually sitting on logs. General Harney made the first speech. He arose and stood erect before the savage warriors with a self-conscious majesty as Cineas, the Thessalian minister, stood before the Senators of Rome, and contended for the peace of the world.

The conference continued five days. Minutes were kept of the entire proceedings, and at the close were forwarded to Washington. On arriving at the war office, they were referred by Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, to the President, and President Pierce referred the minutes and treaty to Congress for approval on the 24th of July, 1856.

The following is General Harney's report of the council to Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War. It shows his good sense and thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and if his suggestions and arrangements had been faithfully carried out by the Government, much subsequent trouble could have been avoided:

HEAD-QUARTERS SIOUX EXPEDITION,
Fort Pierre, N. T., March 8, 1856.

I have the honor to enclose "the minutes of the council" between myself and the different delegations of the Sioux, which convened at this place on the 1st and closed on the 5th instant.

The Sioux nation of the Platte and Missouri rivers, with the exception of Big Head's band of Yanctonnais and the Ogallala band, were represented in this council. The

Ogallalas were prevented from coming by the Indian agent at Fort Laramie, Mr. Thomas S. Twiss. I have sent instructions to Colonel Hoffman to send their delegation to me at once, and shall impress upon them the same conditions as were submitted to those who were in council.

I congratulate the department on this happy issue of affairs in this section of our frontier; and would most earnestly recommend that the best policy to secure these results be adopted by the government at an early day.

The character of the Indians is undergoing great modifications—the gradual decrease in their supply of food—their poverty of means to eke out an existence, with the disease and imposition which has been put upon them on all sides, have forced upon the minds of these people the irresistible conclusion, that to live hereafter they must work. They now desire to do so, and have already, in some instances, commenced—but they have not been able to succeed—and they feel that they are obliged to depend upon the government for future aid and assistance to enable them to live.

With these impressions they have asked our government to help them with a beginning, in raising corn and other simple grains and vegetables; to give them hoes and seed, and to have their land ploughed for them until they learn to do it themselves. Should the government take pity upon them and grant their request, they pledge themselves to enter upon their task in good faith and with energy.

It is not yet too late for us to requite, in some degree, this unfortunate race for their many sufferings, consequent to the domain of our people on the soil of this continent.

These Indians, heretofore proud, stern, and unyielding, now ask of us that assistance which all nations have conceded to each other whenever it has been sought. With proper management a new era will dawn upon such of the Indians as yet remain.

The Sioux seek it and look forward to it, with a hope which I trust may not be blighted. They have been deceived so often by the whites that they would never again give them their confidence.

A feeling of security being most essential to the successful cultivation of the soil, it will be seen that my first

efforts, after obtaining from the Sioux our demands for past grievances, have been directed to place them at peace with the surrounding tribes, viz: the Pawnees, Cheyennes, and Arrapahoes. This I shall most firmly insist upon with each of the above named parties, in addition to requiring them to keep out of each other's country.

I arrived at this conclusion through the information of the fact that emigrants on arriving in California and Oregon complain that nearly all the depredations committed on the entire route across the continent, occur between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Kearney, on the Platte and on the Blue rivers. This country is Pawnee country, and all of those nations above mentioned have heretofore considered themselves at war with the Pawnees; and under cover of this hostility make annual excursions to that neighborhood in the spring, during the time of emigration, for the purpose of robbing the whites. In case of any accusation being made, the guilt is shifted to some absent party. The Pawnees have also availed themselves of this state of things to steal from the whites. I have, therefore, considered it best to keep each nation in its own country, and hold them responsible for all deeds committed therein. This course will very much simplify our relations with these Indians, and at the same time render our control over them more effectual.

I have caused the Sioux nation to select and appoint a certain number of chiefs to govern them, and to see that they carry out the conditions to which they have consented in council, and I have informed them these would be the only chiefs recognized by the President, myself, or their Indian agent. I was induced to this from the confusion which has existed among the bands themselves, in consequence of the different chiefs which have been appointed at different times by different interests.

Certain chiefs were recognized by the nation, others by the military, others again by the Indian agents; and the traders, for their own purposes, have most unwarrantably given medals and appointed chiefs. These conflicting interests necessarily weakened the authority of all these chiefs, and to correct this evil I most respectfully request that the President will direct and order that hereafter none

of the chiefs of the Sioux but those selected in the late council, under the conditions there agreed upon, be recognized by either the War or Interior Departments. This unity of action will greatly tend to promote the influence of the government over these people. That the organization of Sioux may be more complete, I proposed to the chiefs to have a certain number of soldiers in each band to assist them to carry out my views. They have each given in the number which they deemed sufficient for that purpose in each band, and I recommend that these soldiers be regularly named, and receive from the government a dress or uniform by which they will be known; and that for the time they may be doing duty under their chiefs in their villages they will receive their rations. The expense will be trifling, and their young men would be stimulated and encouraged to seek these positions. The dress should be durable and gaudy, particularly the head dress; (they are fond of feathers.) The uniform of the different bands should be different, and the same should have place in the different grades of chief, sub-chief, &c. By gradually causing the interests of a portion of the nation to depend upon the wishes of the government, the remainder will be easily controlled.

I intend using these Indians as express men; they are willing, and I am satisfied that as long as a respectable force is kept in the country they will be useful and economical agents.

I may state here, that all the difficulties which I have had with the Sioux of the Missouri have been caused by the large amount of ammunition which was brought into the country upon the steamers "St. Mary's" and "Arabia," for the purpose of trade. On the "St. Mary's," three hundred kegs of powder were shipped and delivered at the different trading stations up this river. The "Arabia" had the same amount, and the quantity of ball in both cases was in proportion to the powder. When the superintendent of Indian affairs reached Fort Clarke he forbid the ammunition to be traded, but left a discretionary authority with the Indian agent, Colonel Vaughan, to do so or not.

The Indians, under strong temptation, and encouraged by the passiveness of these companies' agents, compelled

Colonel Vaughan, who had not a single soldier to protect him, to grant these companies permission to trade this ammunition.

There can be but one inference to be drawn in reference to these companies, and that is, had they firmly supported Colonel Vaughan in his refusal to the Indians, the Indians would never have acted as they did.

Do such persons deserve licenses to trade with the Indians?

In conclusion, I desire to repeat a former suggestion, as being necessary to complete the impression which has been made upon the Sioux up to this time, and that is, my conviction that a large force should be by all means thrown through their country this summer, to convince them of the ability and intention of the government to enforce obedience to its commands, whenever occasion shall require it.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brevet Brigadier General, &c.

Hon. SECRETARY OF WAR.

This treaty was one that held within it the germ of peace to both the contracting parties. Unfortunately for the settlers on the frontier, their Government had too little appreciation of the Indian character, too little insight into the motives of savage tribes to make it effective. This treaty, or rather protocol, was entered into by all the immediate parties with the utmost good faith, and the papers evidencing the appointments of sub-chiefs, made by General Harney, were treasured during the lives of the appointees, and shown with pride as endorsements of the fidelity and soldierly qualities of the braves, made in solemn council by the great brave of the white race.

As to the wisdom of these detailed appointments we have an example in the oldest and most treasured of human histories. When Jethro, the Midianitish priest, came to see the methods of his divinely appointed son-in-law, he marked out a similar plan. Exodus 18: 21,

"Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them to be rulers of thousands and rulers of hundreds and rulers of fifties and rulers of tens."

David, the next great law-giver of God's chosen people, instructed by the great light which shines upon him, made a similar provision. II. Samuel 18: 1, "And David numbered the people that were with him, and set captains of thousands and captains of hundreds over them."

Here was one of the simplest principles of government, put in force in a natural way, and in such manner as commended itself to savage men. Had the United States Government fully carried out its stipulations there can be no doubt that many subsequent troubles would have been avoided. The Indians stood by their own promises, and held to the obligations imposed upon them, even after it was clear that our own Government had no intention of redeeming its promises.

Meanwhile, and early in the spring, there were some turbulent Indians on the east side of the Mississippi. They were Sioux and kinsmen of Black Beaver and Little Thunder. These sent a message to Harney that they had heard of him, and wanted to meet him on the war path. He determined to accept the challenge, and prepared to move upon them. But his attention was called to his orders, which did not allow him to go. He applied to Washington for instructions and permission to pursue his plans, but they were not accorded him.

He had moved down a hundred miles before he had tried to hear from Washington. The point where he encamped is where Sioux City is now situated on the Missouri River, where, hearing nothing from Washington, he returned to St. Louis in September, 1856. He was then ordered to Florida, where Billy Bowlegs and a remnant of the Seminoles were still lingering in the swamps and everglades. They were soon disposed of by being transported

in a peaceful manner to their homes on the Upper Arkansas. From Florida he returned in May, 1857, and was ordered to duty in Kansas, where there was a delicate and important duty to be performed, requiring the steadiness and firmness of the soldier and the cool sagacity of the statesman.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KANSAS TROUBLES.

THE difficulties in Kansas had grown out of political agitation. The soldiers would have had little to do if the politicians had made no mischief. It seemed to be the duty of warriors to keep the peace among politicians. The "art of *political lying*" had been cultivated to the result that it was a fine art. While and when lying involved no personal danger, they could lie enough to make a dozen wars for soldiers to fight. There was a time in Ireland when, as is described by Sir Jonah Barrington, "the lawyers did the fighting, and the soldiers kept the peace," but in Kansas the agitation of political demagogues had made such a state of things that there was neither peace nor fighting. It would be a lesson of interest and curiosity to write a history of the Kansas troubles. It would be a chapter of our national history, perhaps better omitted or forgotten, and if it could be so consigned to oblivion as to never again be remembered, the office of the historian and biographer would be relieved of a most disgusting duty.

As early as 1788, in framing the American Constitution, an effort was made, supported by the slave-holding States, to suppress the slave trade from the coast of Africa. It was resisted by those States whose shipping and ship owners were remotely or immediately interested in the infamous traffic. They were from the same States which had sold, in the early settlement of New England, their Indian captives into slavery in the West Indies, and had brought the first cargo of slaves into Virginia in 1620. The final suppression of the slave trade was fixed for 1808. But

in the meantime enough slaves had been sold to the Southern States to make, with their progeny, over four millions. The slave trade having ceased, the people originally engaged in it began to be fanatically opposed to it.

In 1820 the first compromise was made in the United States Senate, on the admission of Missouri into the Union, by which slavery was not to exist in the States or Territories north of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude. This was the compromise effected through the eloquence and endeavors of Mr. Clay, of Kentucky.

Afterwards the annexation of Texas gave a large territorial preponderance to the South, and upon the accession of territory again to the North by the acquisition of California, New Mexico and the great West, the Wilmot proviso introduced a new element of discord into the councils of the nation. Mr. Clay again compromised in 1850, not long before his death, and in a memorable debate crowned his renown as a statesman and an orator with a garland of imperishable fame.

But the subject of the admission of Kansas revived the quarrels between the sections, in which the free thought of the people aggravated the ordinary vices of politicians and those who had and could have lived in peace, until they were embroiled in a controversy which ultimately resulted in war—the war of *secession* or *rebellion*. Mr. Douglas, a senator from Illinois, insisted that, in the settlement of Kansas, the early settlers could determine for themselves their domestic institutions, and that a South Carolinian could go there with his slaves on the same footing that an Illinoisan could with his laws and penalties. This doctrine, known as *squatter sovereignty*, which Mr. Douglas had learned from Count Cavour, was odious, it would seem, to both sections, but in the settlement of Kansas led to great excitement and agitation from one end of the Union to the other. But Mr. Benton, who was born,

raised, lived and died among slaveholders, held quite a different doctrine to that of Mr. Douglas, and which he expressed in the following forcible words:

The prohibition of slavery in a territory is assumed to work an inequality in the States, allowing one part to carry its property with it—the other not. This is a mistake—a great error of fact—the source of great errors of deduction. The citizens of all the States, free and slave, are precisely equal in their capacity to carry their property with them into territories. Each may carry whatever is property by the laws of nature: neither can carry that which is only property by statute law; and the reason is, *because he cannot carry with him* THE LAW *which* MAKES *it property*. Either may carry the thing which is the subject of this local property; but neither can carry the law which makes it so. The Virginian may carry his man-slave; but he cannot carry the Virginian law which *makes* him a slave. The citizen of Massachusetts may carry the pile of money which, under a State law, constitutes a bank; but he cannot carry the law or charter which makes it a bank: and his treasure is only a pile of money; and, besides being impossible, it would be absurd, and confusion confounded, to be otherwise. For, if the citizen of one State may carry his slave State law with him into a territory, the citizens of every other slave State might do the same; and then what Babylonish confusion, not merely of tongues, but of laws, would be found there! Fifteen different codes, as the slave States now number, and more to come. For every slave State has a servile code of its own, differing from others in some respects—and in some, radically: as much so as land, in the eye of the law, differs from cattle. Thus, in some States, as in Virginia and others, slaves are only chattels: in others, as in Kentucky and Louisiana, they are real estate. How would all these codes work together in a territory under the wing of the Constitution, protecting all equally; no law of Congress there, or of the territory, to reconcile and harmonize them by forming them into one; no law to put the protecting power of the Constitution into action; but of itself, by its own proper vigor, it is to give general and equal protection to all slaveholders

ARGUING THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

in the enjoyment of their property—each, according to the law of the State from which he came! For, there being no power in Congress, or the Territorial Legislature, to legislate upon slavery, the whole subject is left to the Constitution and the State law! that law which cannot cross the State line! and that Constitution which gives protection to slave property but in one instance, and that only in States, not in Territories—the single instance of recovering runaways. The Constitution protect slave property in a territory! when, by that instrument, a runaway from the territory or into the territory cannot be reclaimed! Beautiful constitutional protection that! only one clause under it to protect slave property; and that limited, in express words, to fugitives between State and State! and but one clause in it to protect the master against his slaves, and that limited to States! and but one clause in it to tax slaves as property, and that limited to States! and but one clause in it to give a qualified representation to Congress, and that limited to States. No; the thing is impossible. The ower cannot carry his slave State law with him into the Territory; nor can he carry it into another slave State, but must take the law which he finds there, and have his property governed by it; and, in some instances, wholly changed by it, and rights lost, or acquired, by the change.

In New England eminent preachers, among them the eloquent Beechers and Kallachs, taught the gospel of Sharpe's rifles and active resistance, and societies in aid of free State immigration were organized and liberally supported with money. In the South emigration of pro-slavery men was encouraged and supported.

These circumstances made the new territory a scene of perpetual conflict and sedition. The free State men and the slave State men, under the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, endeavored to capture the State of Kansas, either for the North or the South, and a heavy emigration from both sections contested the settlement and organization of the territory, and its ultimate organization as a free or a slave State.

No State, not even California, was ever so rapidly col-

onized. John Brown, since famous for having been hanged under Governor Wise's administration, in Charlestown, Virginia, for a fanatical raid upon Harper's Ferry, had come to Kansas with his family. He was an earnest and honest fanatic on the subject of slavery, and did much to bring about hostilities among the discordant and excited elements in the Kansas population.

The first Governor was Reeder, from Easton, Pennsylvania. Reeder, appointed as a Democrat, was a signal failure; he was tired of his position and was soon succeeded by Geary, who was likewise a weak and vapid politician, incapable of giving satisfaction. Shannon, ex-Governor of Ohio, had more character and ability but as little success. The governorship of the territory for a while was in the hands of the acting Governor, who was Secretary of State. Neither party could be satisfied, and while it was difficult to satisfy one party it was impossible to please both. The governorship was at last tendered to Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, who had been a successful cabinet minister, and Secretary of the Treasury. He asked as a condition if he took the office, that General Harney should be sent there to command the troops. Walker was like his predecessors, a signal failure as a governor, but Harney was a success as a military commander.

At the very beginning of his gubernatorial career in Kansas, General Harney told Walker, in the most positive terms, that Kansas had been the grave-yard of every governor and general sent there, and that he did not intend it to be his, and positively refused to serve partisan interests on either side.

The battles of Osawatomie, the sacking of Lawrence, and the dozens of almost bloodless collisions between Missourians, who were called "border ruffians," and the emissaries of emigrant aid societies from New England, and the frequent bloody murders and assassinations which were magnified and exaggerated in the press for the Eastern

lie market, we do not care to dwell upon. Nor do we care to descant upon the fraudulent elections, or villainies perpetrated with wholesale perjuries and sacrileges that characterized the early settlement of that State, which now is so rapidly developing and taking rank among her sisters; but this we have to say, that General Harney went there as a soldier and not as a politician; that he pacified the territory, preserved the peace, and attended to the enforcement of the laws; that his great merit consisted in preventing and not making war, and that his administration of the delicate duties of the commanding officer of his department, impartial and honest, inflexible and just, resulted in the ultimate settlement and admission of the State of Kansas into the Union, and the prosperity of her people.

General Harney was relieved from duty in Kansas in April, 1858, and ordered to the command of the expedition to Utah. On the 27th day of May, 1858, General Harney reported from Fort Leavenworth to the General-in-chief, in reference to the Utah expedition:

HEAD-QUARTERS UTAH FORCES,
Fort Leavenworth, May 27, 1858.

SIR: The second column of the troops destined for Utah left this post on the 21st instant; the third starts to-morrow, and the fourth Monday the 31st. I enclose herewith a return of the second column, and the acting inspector general's report of his inspections, which will give detailed informaton in regard to its strength and condition.

The expedition thus far starts under favorable auspices. I expect the leading supplies to reach Camp Scott by the last of July, and by the 10th of August, one entire division, about two hundred and fifty wagons, carrying about four hundred and fifty thousand rations, will have arrived, with their escort, numbering about nine hundred men. By that time the first column, under Lieutenant Colonel Andrews, sixth infantry, about three hundred

strong, will also have arrived over the Bridger's Pass route, making the force present, including the troops already there, about three thousand men. Whatever military operations may be necessary can then be commenced with vigor and tolerable efficiency. I shall be at Camp Scott myself in advance of the first troops. Of the eighteen hundred or two thousand wagons which will carry out the year's supply, only about twelve hundred and fifty are by the present arrangement provided with escort, but I shall take timely measures to provide for the remainder, anticipating that the volunteer force which was expected to be called out cannot be calculated upon for this purpose. This provision will probably involve the use of a considerable cavalry force on the road; and for the winter dispositions, the return and establishment of a considerable force in the district of the Platte, where they will be subsisted more cheaply, diminish the draw upon the supply in Utah, and be ready for convoy service in the spring if necessary.

It would be premature at this time to go more into detail in regard to these matters, or to anticipate what military operations may be necessary after my arrival; but I shall keep the general-in-chief promptly advised on the subject as circumstances may determine it. The copies of my orders forwarded regularly to your office and the Adjutant General's Office, will give the current details of my command.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brevet Brigadier General, commanding.

The Mormons had, under the leadership of their prophet, rejected the authority of the United States. They had expelled the Judges of the Federal courts, and driven away the Governors sent them by the Washington Government. They had incited the Indians to hostilities, and treated with contempt the Federal authority. General Harney's plan of the campaign was thorough, and he had fully determined, on arriving at Salt Lake City, to capture Brigham Young and the twelve apostles, and execute them in a

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

summary manner, and winter in the Temple of the Latter-day Saints. This would not have been an improbable act of a military chieftain whose whole life had been so demonstrative. Though possessed of an unusual degree of the humanitarian element, which always prompted him to take the side of the weak and oppressed, in conformity to the teachings of the Higher Law, he was no apologist for wrong doing, and would never compromise with that which he believed to be wrong; though his standard of judgment was not technically that which resulted from religious teachings, but that which resulted from a sense of duty and related to personal honor and personal duty, and to the public peace and prosperity. If, therefore, General Harney had been permitted to continue his march to the Mormon capital, and, as a consequence, executed Brigham Young and the twelve apostles under him, he would not have so done because of any personal concern about the Mormon religion, for that was a matter of indifference to him. His thought was only that which related to duty, to the removal of all obstructions that came in his way, to the peace of the people, the safety of human life, and the planting of empire over our unpeopled territory.

On the other hand, as all things constantly repeat themselves, nearly the whole of General Harney's military life has been a repetition of the Jewish warfare, and his military exploits have been typified by Jethro, Moses, Joshua, and David, and if he had entered Salt Lake City, he would have repeated the daring deed of the Roman Titus who captured and laid waste Jerusalem, the city of the primitive apostles. In his personal qualities General Harney exemplifies, in a great degree, the excellencies of the ancient Titus.

General Harney was relieved from the command of the Utah expedition and ordered to the Pacific coast. While on his way to Oregon he was promoted to a Brigadier-General, the commission bearing date of June 14, 1858.

CHAPTER XIV.

SERVICE IN OREGON.

IN September, 1858, Brigadier General Harney was relieved from duty with the Utah expedition, and ordered to the command of the department of Oregon. The following were his instructions received from headquarters:

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, Sept. 14, 1858.

GENERAL: In transmitting to you the enclosed "general orders" No. 10, I am directed by the Secretary of War to communicate the following instructions, which are to guide you in prosecuting the war against the Indians of Washington and Oregon Territories:

The campaign, already commenced by Brevet Brigadier General Clarke, must be prosecuted with the greatest possible vigor and activity, and the hostile bands must be thoroughly chastised and subdued. There will be no cessation of the campaign for the winter, that being on many accounts the most favorable season for striking at the homes and herds of the hostiles. The fall of snow, at no time sufficient to prevent the ready operations of troops in the valleys lying between the Cascade and Rocky mountains, where the Indians dwell and graze their animals in winter, is, nevertheless, so great in the mountain passes as to prevent their passage by the Indians. Their families and herds will thus be readily reached by the troops, and no exertions should be spared to capture the first and destroy the last.

No overtures of friendship should be made to any tribes before the chastisement of the hostiles. It would be taken as an evidence of weakness or fear, and exaggerate rather than relieve the evils of a war with those people.

Undoubted evidences of friendship towards the whites

by any of the tribes should be met in a spirit of kindness, but overtures should not be made to any.

The Secretary further directs me to say that he expects you to let no opportunity pass of communicating events to the War Department, and to this end he desires you to forward to the Adjutant General duplicates of your reports, which, in the ordinary channel, will pass through army headquarters.

I have the honor to be, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Brig. Gen. W. S. HARNEY,
United States Army, Washington, D. C.

Here he found the situation such as to demand all the highest faculties of the experienced soldier and the civilian. On being ordered to the Pacific coast, he asked the Government to send with him Father De Smet, an eminent Jesuit priest, who had been a missionary among the Flat Heads and other tribes on the Columbia river and its tributaries. He knew the influence Father De Smet had with the Indians, and he deemed it necessary to have him with him, not only for his influence, but for the information he could afford him of the country and the nature and disposition of the several tribes. Father De Smet was appointed chaplain. The records of the War Department at Washington show as follows:

"General Harney has suggested to the Secretary of War the propriety of appointing the Reverend P. J. De Smet, of the Roman Catholic Church, as chaplain of the army of Utah, in view of his services being important in many respects to the public interests in Utah."

Accompanying this is an order from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, for the appointment, as also a letter from General Harney to Adjutant General Cooper, to telegraph Father De Smet of his appointment, at the Planter's House, St. Louis, to gain time for preparation.

Father De Smet accompanied him to the Pacific coast. In California the Indians had been hostile, and the troubles resulted in frequent skirmishes and fights. General Clarke was in command, whom General Harney was ordered to relieve. Before he reached there General Clarke sent messages to the hostile Indians for a council. They came in, and the officer in immediate command, Colonel Thomas, demanded of them the surrender of their prisoners. The Indians refused to accede to the terms, when Major Key, of the 2d artillery, asked the privilege of addressing the Indians, which being granted, he addressed them, and stated that the great war chief, General Harney, whose fame as an Indian fighter was well known among all the tribes, was on his way to relieve General Clarke and take command of the department; that General Harney would, if the terms demanded were not conceded, demand more and make such vigorous war upon them as to exact harder and severer conditions. After Major Key's speech, the Indians deliberated and made a treaty conformable to the terms proposed originally.

Accompanied by Captain Pleasanton and Lieutenant Jesup of his staff, with Father De Smet, General Harney arrived at Fort Vancouver, October 24, 1858. Of Father De Smet it is due to say, he was chaplain to General Harney from no wordly considerations, and the services he rendered the United States were rendered in the cause of humanity, Christianity and duty. Born in Belgium, a nobleman, with every prospect in life before him in any wordly pursuit, he espoused the teachings of the Catholic Church, and won high distinction among its honored leaders, and was noted for his devotion to its cause. With other students, in 1821, he sailed for America, for the purpose of being ordained a priest and joining the "Society of Jesus." The late Reverend Father Van Asche, S. J., likewise a youth of noble lineage, was of the party, who, in 1877, was buried at the novitiate of Saint Stanislaus, near the village

of Florissant, or Saint Ferdinand, near Saint Louis, where he had been parish priest for fifty-four years. Father De-Smet was ordained in America, and was for a long time a missionary among the Indians in Chili and other provinces of South America. He devoted his life to the red man. With learning, talents, eloquence, birth, wealth, influence, and power, he deserted the social allurements of the highest civilization to devote himself to missionary labors, and found among the Indians an ample field for his abilities, his energies, and the faith of his choice and adoption. His life-labors were self-sacrificing, and in the interest of the poor Indian whose untutored mind "sees God in clouds and hears Him in the wind." From almost the coast of Patagonia to the frozen regions of Behring's Strait and the sterile and inhospitable lands of Alaska, he had lived in familiar intercourse with the aboriginal savage. He had found him made in the image of his Creator, and had found in him a soul and a heart. With the cross and the sacrament he carried the gospel to all the wild tribes of the Northwest; had traversed the whole land from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, preaching, teaching, and baptizing. No guile was on his tongue, and the natives had learned to revere him, to believe and trust him. The '*black gown*" was a welcome guest in every lodge and at every feast from Minnesota to Alaska. With no carnal weapons, and without purse or scrip, in the manner of the primitive apostles, he had taken with him only his divine commission to teach. The nations of aboriginal savages listened in wonder; they revered his holy life, and believed in his holy faith. Unmercenary and courteous, only in the love of souls, he fasted and feasted with them. When they ate their dogs and ponies, he shared their homely fare; when they were riotous he rebuked them, and they took this "open rebuke" as "secret love." When they were in sorrow he comforted them. Their friend in distress, their adviser and teacher in faith, he was with them, revered not

only as a priest and father, but as a faithful and honest ally on whom they might depend, either for advice or rebuke, without suspicion of falsehood or mercenary motive. So had his holy and devout life impressed them that the "black gown" could, in war or peace, pass through the tribes, hostile or friendly; always greeted with hospitality, and always trusted, a trust that was never betrayed, nor under suspicion of treachery. With learning, all that a most vigorous intellect and the most devoted application could acquire in the best schools of Europe, secular and religious; with a cultivation in classics and elegant literature of all that was knowable and to be known, and with a profound and exhaustive knowledge of philosophy, he condescended to look into the mind and philosophy of the simple savage, and the result of his condescension was, he found the savage a philosopher. He learned the Indian dialects and all their languages; probed the secret springs of all their motives; searched into the secrets of their hearts; sounded the depths of their affections; got to sympathize in their love of country and their families, and found the Indian was human; that he was manly and brave, truthful and honest, and the good apostle devoted his life to their cause and welfare, and in the nearly fifty years of his mission among them they had not ever heard or known of his once "speaking with a forked tongue." He had never deceived them, never cheated them, and they had never deceived him.

Father De Smet had, as a missionary, ascended and explored the Columbia and the rivers of Oregon; had feasted with them on the dead and rotten salmon killed in jumping the falls and rapids, and feasted with them when they were fat and prosperous. With every foot of the unexplored region of Oregon he was acquainted, and with the chiefs, women and children of the Indian tribes he was always a welcome guest. Many of them were his catechumens, and had received from him the sacrament of baptism. Their

chiefs were his friends, and the selection of the good father for his chaplain indicates not only the wisdom of the soldier, but the sagacity of the statesman in General Harney.

On his arrival at Fort Vancouver, General Harney found a state of things with the Indians indicated in his dispatches to the War Department. Lieutenant Jesup was, at his own request, relieved from duty and ordered to rejoin his regiment, the 10th infantry, leaving with him Father De Smet, chaplain, and Captain Pleasanton, Acting Assistant Adjutant General. The Indians had sued for peace, as we have stated, and treaties had been made with the Spokanes, the Cœur d'Alenes and Nez Perces, Walla Wallas, and other tribes, in September. The turbulent Indians who had been concerned in the outbreaks had fled to the Flat Heads, and General Harney announces his determination to demand their surrender. He deliberately planned his campaign, and determined to enforce the laws, as well as protect the settlers and preserve the public peace. By the treaty made with the Cœur d'Alene Indians, which applied to the Nez Perces, the Indians who had, without orders, attacked Colonel Steptoe's command, were to be given up, and hostages were to be delivered as a guaranty for good faith for one year, after which time a permanent treaty was to be made with the tribes. Treaties similar in effect were made with the Spokane and Walla Walla Indians. The Indians who had committed the depredations in various parts of the territory, were promptly demanded, and in several instances as promptly delivered up. General Harney, in a dispatch to the War Department, dated November 4, 1858, said:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 4, 1858.

SIR: I have the honor to inform the general-in-chief of the receipt of a report from Captain I. I. Archer, of the 9th infantry, commanding Fort Simcoe, in which it is stated that two of the three surviving murderers of Bolan, viz:

"Stahan" and "Wapi-wapi-tla," had been brought in to that post by a party of friendly Indians, on the 16th ultimo, and that he had caused them to be hung. Captain Archer further reports that "Sugintch," the only remaining murderer, has since committed suiçide, in order to disappoint the Indians who were endeavoring to capture him.

This prompt action on the part of Captain Archer is approved.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

In a dispatch of the day following he gives an interesting account of the Indians of Oregon and Washington Territories:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 5, 1858.

SIR: The Indians in this section of the country are entirely different from the great nomadic tribes of the plains, who own and roam over vast regions in search of plunder and game, and all of whose instincts are warlike. The tribes of Washington and Oregon Territories, with the exception of those residing near the Rocky Mountains, are small in number, each occupying a limited territory, from which in many cases they obtain a meagre subsistence. The subdivisions of these Indians into tribes are very numerous. Those tribes residing on the Columbia river and its tributaries subsist principally upon fish, particularly the salmon, whose annual migration up these rivers forms one of the great curiosities of nature. Other tribes live on roots, berries, and such wild fruits as their country affords, and in times of great privation they obtain from the moss of the country, which is very abundant, a glutinous substance that supports life. The same improvidence which characterizes the Indian race elsewhere is seen here, attended by the same results; and it is not too much to predict that the red men of America will gradually disappear about the same time from the different sections of our country.

From the different languages, interests, and jealousies existing among so many different tribes, a coalition of all of them in one common cause is impossible; indeed, the

events of the past summer have shown the difficulties which require to be removed before a small number could be made to act together, and these difficulties are out of all proportion to the advantages and facilities the troops possess to crush them. If the reports I have received be correct, another coalition of these Indians never will be attempted.

For the welfare of the Indians, as well as the better security of the white settler, I would respectfully recommend that the Indians of this department be placed on reservations assigned them by the government for their support and sustenance. A system of instruction in cultivating the soil applicable to them should also be adopted, with a proper provision of seeds and implements for their use.

Laws should also be passed defining their positions and their rights upon these reservations, which should be convenient to the military stations, that all controversies between them and the settlers may be decided on the spot, and that the Indian could have a market for his produce when desiring to dispose of it.

To secure the emigrant route to this department from the frontiers of Missouri, I shall establish a post in the spring in the vicinity of Fort Boisee, on Snake River, some two hundred and thirty miles from Fort Walla-Walla. At least four companies should garrison this point—two of foot and two of mounted force. The road is a good one from Fort Walla-Walla, and it can be supplied from that point. I also respectfully recommend a post near Fort Hall on the same route, but would advise that the garrison, as well as the supplies, be furnished from the department of Utah, for reasons of economy and supervision.

As soon as the season will permit I shall establish a garrison of at least four companies in the vicinity of Colville, to protect the interests of the citizens in that quarter and serve as a check upon the Indian tribes who were so lately hostile.

The establishment of the above-mentioned posts is considered subject to the revision of higher authority.

I enclose a copy of my instructions to the Rev. P. J. De Smet, who, it will be seen, has proceeded to the Cœur

d'Alene Mission, by my directions, to visit the Indians of that vicinity for the purpose of observing their disposition, and to counsel them to observe most faithfully all the conditions they have promised to fulfill towards the government and its citizens.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL,
Headquarters of the Army, New York City.

Father De Smet had, in the meantime, been sent on a mission to the Cœur d'Alenes, with the following instructions, dated October 28, 1858:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 28, 1858.

DEAR SIR: The general commanding instructs me to say that he most cordially approves of your proposition to visit the Cœur d'Alene Mission this winter, for he conceives the happiest results from your presence among the Indian tribes of that vicinity.

He has directed that every facility shall be furnished you to enable you to perform in safety the inclement and trying journey you are about to undertake. A copy of his instructions is enclosed herewith.

The general desires you to impress upon the Indians you are to counsel the strong necessity existing for them to live up to the conditions to which they have so lately subscribed in the treaties they have made, more especially in the surrender of such persons as were demanded of them. Two of these persons, *Kamaikin* and *Schloom*, it is reported, have gone among the Flatheads, but that circumstance must not prevent the tribes concerned from using every endeavor to obtain possession of them for the purposes above indicated.

While informing the Indians that the government is always generous to a fallen foe, state to them it is at the same time determined to protect its citizens in every part of its territory, and that they can only expect to exist by implicitly obeying the commands they receive.

The same troops are permanently stationed in the country who met them in the field the past summer, and these will, most assuredly, be placed upon their trail in the spring, with instructions to give no quarter should they again turn a deaf ear to what has been told them.

I am instructed to say you will communicate freely with these headquarters.

The best wishes of the general will attend you in the holy mission of charity to which you have devoted yourself in so generous a manner.

I am, Father, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. PLEASONTON,

Captain 2d Dragoons, Acting Asst. Adj't. General.

Rev. Father P. J. De Smet,

Chaplain, &c., Vancouver, W. T.

The fall and winter of 1858 were spent in the reorganization of the troops, and in the pacification of the hostile Indians, both of which objects were effected without bloodshed, and as the result of a wise energy and sleepless vigilance. In a dispatch to the War Department, November 24, 1858, suggestion is made of the bad condition of the horses belonging to the four companies of the 6th dragoons on duty at Fort Walla Walla, and on the 27th a further dispatch announces that the pacification of the Indians is so far effected, that the hostages delivered under the treaty made in September, have been released from their captivity and sent back to their tribes.

While treaties were being faithfully performed and the Indians pacified, General Harney took the most effectual means of providing for the future peace of Oregon and the safety of white settlements by providing for cheap, ready and rapid communication between Fort Vancouver, and the Great Salt Lake. To that end he detailed an efficient officer, and the result is contained in his dispatch of November 29, 1858:

Headquarters Department of Oregon,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Nov. 29, 1858.

Sir: I have the honor to enclose a report from Captain

Ingalls, assistant quartermaster at this place, upon the expediency, economy, and advantage to the service of supplying the department of Utah from depots recommended to be established at Fort Vancouver.

The report includes the statements of several reliable persons of Oregon and Washington Territories, with a table of distances from Fort Vancouver to the Great Salt Lake City, and a map of the country through which the supplies must pass.

Upon examining the map of the country on the Pacific coast, and the country connecting it with Utah, it will be seen an uninterrupted chain of mountains extends along the whole coast from the British possessions to Lower California, rendering access to the interior country extremely difficult, and in many places impossible. In Washington and Oregon Territories this chain of mountains is called the Cascade range of mountains, while in California it is termed by its Spanish name, the Sierra Nevada.

The bold and astonishing action of the Columbia river in forcing its way directly through the Cascade range of mountains in almost a straight line to the ocean has made the passage of this chain of mountains from Fort Vancouver extremely simple and easy. The only land travel which is now required to pass beyond the Cascade mountains from this point is over the two portages: one at the Cascades of five miles, the other at the Dalles of fifteen miles; at each portage there is now a good wagon road. The river is then navigable for good-sized steamers as high up as Fort Walla-Walla, and for smaller craft, the Snake river can be navigated as far as the mouth of the Pelouse river.

Again referring to the map, we perceive a great basin or plain extending up the Snake river from the Columbia river to the Great Salt Lake. This plain is watered by numerous streams, and the country is represented to be well wooded, with excellent grass.

All reports agree in stating that several good wagon routes can be made through this plain from the Columbia river to the Great Salt Lake City. The emigrant route from Fort Hall to the Dalles is at present a good road.

The distance to be passed over by land from the pro-

posed depot at Umatilla to the Salt Lake City is estimated at 614 miles, but I have been informed that a good route one hundred miles shorter can be made from the Des Chutes river, passing to the head of the Malheur river, down the valley of that river to the Snake river. This route would place Salt Lake City 514 miles from the Dalles, at which point the depots of trans-shipment in wagons should be placed.

Another great consideration in favor of this route is, that it can be travelled at all seasons of the year; and I am credibly informed that the month of February is the best time to travel it, as the grasses are then most flourishing. My own evidence at this place supports this assertion, as the grass here at this time is as green and fresh as it is found in the Western States in May.

The Sierra Nevada range of mountains of California cannot be crossed in safety with wagons before July; and it is well known supplies cannot be sent from Fort Leavenworth to arrive in Utah before August or September.

In point of economy, it appears that ten cents per pound from the Umatilla or Walla-Walla to Salt Lake City would be considered a high price, and in a short time it could be done much cheaper. From New York to Walla-Walla the freight on supplies is not quite five cents per pound. Entire freight from New York to Salt Lake would then be fifteen cents, and probably much less. Compare these prices with the heavy expenses the government has been compelled to incur during the past year for the transportation of supplies from Fort Leavenworth to Utah, and a very large margin will be left in favor of the route under consideration.

The country to the west and north of the Salt Lake is not so mountainous, nor does it present the difficulties for obstruction that belong to the country to the east of it. It is accessible at all seasons, and presents a military feature as regards the proposed route which will tend to modify the necessity for maintaining a large force in Utah, where all the elements of subsistence are wanting.

Let two strong garrisons be placed on the route; concentrate a force of two or three thousand men in the department of Oregon; let the Mormons understand that this

force can be placed in their midst in six weeks time, at any season, and they will be very careful not to afford any occasion for its being done. The army in Utah can then be reduced to an efficent garrison.

I shall cause a complete and thorough exploration to be made of the country in question early in the spring, at the same time directing a good wagon route to be laid out in the direction of Salt Lake City to the limits of this department.

I respectfully recommend to the general-in-chief, and to the government, the earnest consideration of this subject, which contains such important results to the interests of the military service; for I do not doubt that the physical features above enumerated will attract public attention to their advantages in favor of one of the great national highways which must sooner or later connect the Atlantic States with those of the Pacific.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

THE ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL,
Headquarters of the Army, New York City.

During this winter, while he was making these wise dispositions for the efficiency and economy of the military service of the United States, one of those occasions occurred which demand of the soldier, whether commander of rank or subaltern, the knowledge of rights and duties, as well as the necessity of demanding and sustaining them. First Lieutenant Joshua W. Sill, of the ordnance, had been ordered on duty at Fort Vancouver. He was the only and consequently the ranking officer of ordnance. Lieutenant Sill had been ordered on the specific duty of erecting an arsenal at Fort Vancouver. He claimed the allowances of an office and fuel under general orders No. III, from the War Department, of March 24, 1858, and based his claim upon the fact that being the *only*, he was the senior officer of the ordnance. General Harney denied his application:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 2, 1858.

SIR: Your application for an office and fuel, under paragragh III of general orders No. 3 from the War Department of March 24, 1858, has been submitted to the general commanding.

As the orders assigning you to duty in this department are specific in naming you to the duty of erecting an arsenal at Fort Vancouver, the general commanding does not think it would be becoming and proper to separate you from those duties sufficiently as to recognize you in the light of senior ordnance officer at the headquarters of this department, as contemplated in the paragraph of the order above quoted.

From your position as ordnance officer of the depot at Fort Vancouver you are entitled to an office and fuel, which you are authorized to obtain in the usual manner as the service requires at the other ordnance stations.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. PLEASONTON,
Captain 2d Dragoons, A. Ass't. Adj't. General.

First Lieutenant J. W. SILL,
Ordnance Department, Fort Vancouver, W. T.

To this communication Lieutenant Sill replied in language which the General construed to be disrespectful and subversive of good order and discipline. The consequences were that he preferred charges against him and ordered him in arrest. At the same time he offered to Lieutenant Sill an opportunity to recant or modify his language in such a manner that the commanding General might dismiss the charges and restore him to duty. Lieutenant Sill, however, standing upon what he regarded as his right as well as duty, refused to modify his language, and stated that he preferred to be relieved from duty.

The charge and specification are as follows:

Charge.—Contempt and disrespect to his superior officer.

Specification.—In this: that he, First Lieutenant Joshua W. Sill, ordnance department, having been informed by

his commanding officer, Brigadier General W. S. Harney, United States army, commanding the department of Oregon, that the provisions of paragraph 3 of General Orders No. 3 from the War Department, of March 24, 1858, were not applicable to him, did reply in a communication disrespectful and contemptuous; accusing his commanding officer of attempting to place on him, the said Sill, an indignity, and stating that his self-respect demanded that he should appeal to the chief of ordnance for redress.

This at Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory, on the 3d day of December, 1858.

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Witnesses:
Brigadier General W. S. HARNEY,
Captain A. PLEASONTON.

General Harney found, on taking command of the Department of Oregon, that the troops under his command had, through the most culpable neglect, been unsupplied with proper clothing. He addressed himself to the duty of seeing them provided.

He says in his dispatch to General Scott, Assistant Adjutant General:

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Feb. 7, 1859.

Through the most culpable neglect, beyond my power of investigation, the troops of this command have been deprived of the proper clothing for months; and the men are suffering at many posts for want of overalls, drawers, stockings, shirts and shoes. Requisition upon requisition has been sent to the depots at San Francisco without effect; and as I have no authority to institute any inquiry to elicit the facts concerning this strange state of things, I respectfully and earnestly request that orders may be given at an early date, requiring the supplies for this command to be sent to this point to be subject to the action of officers under my exclusive control.

In the meantime, the road to Salt Lake by way of Fort Dalles, which had been mentioned and recommended by

him, had been reconnoitered and marked out by Captain Wallen. Father De Smet visited the various tribes of Indians, and by his influence among them restored peace and effected the carrying out of treaties. The services of the Reverend Father were most valuable and efficient, and in May, 1859, accompanied by several chiefs, he reported at Fort Vancouver; among others, two noted chiefs, leaders in the late war, Kamiakin and Schloom, surrendered themselves to the government. The country was free from Indian depredations, and travel became safe from all parts of the territory. Father De Smet's report is as follows:

FORT VANCOUVER, May 25, 1859.

DEAR CAPTAIN: Towards the end of last March, owing to the deep snows and the impracticableness of the mountain passes, I received your kind favor of the 1st of January of the present year. I am happy that my request to the general, concerning the bringing down to Vancouver a deputation of the various chiefs of the upper tribes, met with his approval. I have no doubt, from the happy dispositions in which I left them at Walla-Walla, the general's advice and counsel will be cheerfully and punctually followed out by them, and will prove highly beneficial to their respective tribes, and consolidate the peace established last fall by Colonel Wright.

During my stay among the Rocky Mountain Indians, in the long and dreary winter, from the 21st of November last until the end of April, I have carried out, as far as lay in my power, the instructions of the general. I succeeded, I think, in removing many doubts and prejudices against the intentions of government, and against the whites generally, which were still lurking in the minds of a great number of the most influential Indians. I held frequent conversations with the chieftains of the Cœur d' Alenes, the Spokanes, several of the Schuyelpees or Kettlefalls, and lower Kalispels, who had chiefly aided, particularly the two first-mentioned tribes, in their lawless and savage attack on Colonel Steptoe and in their war with Colonel Wright. These various tribes, with the exception perhaps of a small portion of lawless Kettlefalls Indians, are well

disposed, and will faithfully adhere to the conditions prescribed by Colonel Wright, and to any future requests and proposals of treaties coming from government. The upper Pend d'Oreilles, the Koetinays and Flatheads, I found, as years ago, strong friends and adherents to the whites, and I have every reason to think that they will remain faithful; they ever glory, and truly, that not a drop of white man's blood has ever been spilled by any one of their respective tribes. When I proposed to them that from each tribe a chief should accompany me down to Fort Vancouver to pay their respects to the general and listen to his advice, all eagerly consented, and they kept in readiness for the long journey as soon as the snow would have sufficiently disappeared. Meanwhile Major Owen, agent among the Flatheads, arrived at St. Ignatius' Mission, and made known to me that he had received orders from the superintendent of Indian affairs and from Commissioner Mot to bring down to Salem a chief of each tribe of the upper country. Upon this declaration I persuaded the Indians that as Major Owen had received orders from the highest authority he superseded me, and they should look upon him as their leader in this expedition, whilst I would follow on with them as far as practicable and I would be allowed.

The Major having brought no provisions for them, I lodged the chiefs in my own tent, and provided them with all the necessary supplies from the 16th of April until the 13th instant, the day on which we reached Walla-Walla, and where the chiefs were liberally provided for by Captain Dent, in command of the fort. The deputation of chiefs was stopped at Walla-Walla by Major Owen, to await an express he had sent on from the Spokane prairie, with instructions to the superintendent at Salem. My own instructions from the general, according to your letter of the 1st of January, "to return to Fort Vancouver as early in the spring as practicable, for some contingency might arise requiring the general's presence elsewhere," hurried me down in compliance with said order.

With regard to Kamiakin and his brother, Schloom, I held several talks with them in February, March, and April, and acquainted them with the general's order, wish,

and desire, in their regard, videlicet, of following me, and of their surrendering into his hands, assuring them, in the general's own words, that "the government is always generous to a fallen foe, though it is at the same time determined to protect its citizens in every part of its territory," &c. They invariably listened with attention and respect. Kamiakin made an open avowal of all he had done in his wars against the government of the country, particularly in the attack on Colonel Steptoe, and in the war with Colonel Wright. Kamiakin stated that he strongly advised his people to the contrary, but was at last drawn into the contest by the most opprobrious language the deceitful Telgawax upbraided him with in full council, in presence of the various chiefs of the Cœur d'Alenes, Spokanes, and Pelouses. Kamiakin repeatedly declared to me, and with the greatest apparent earnestness, that he never was a murderer, and, whenever he could, he restrained his people against all violent attacks on whites passing through the country. On my way down to Vancouver, from St. Ignatius' Mission, I met him again, near Thompson's prairie, on Clark's fork. Kamiakin declared he would go down and follow me if he had a horse to ride, his own not being in a condition to undertake a long journey. I had none to lend him at that moment. At my arrival in the Spokane prairie, meeting with Gerry, one of the Spokane chiefs, I acquainted him with the circumstance, and entreated him, for the sake of Kamiakin and his poor children, to send him a horse and an invitation to come on and to accompany the other chiefs to Walla-Walla, and hence to Vancouver; the best opportunity for him to present himself before the general and the superintendent, and to expose his case to them and obtain rest and peace. Gerry complied with my request, and Kamiakin soon presented himself and joined the other chiefs. I had daily conversations with him until we reached Walla-Walla. He places implicit confidence in the generosity of the general. I believe him sincere in his repeated declarations that henceforth nothing shall ever be able to withdraw him again from the path of peace; or, in his own words, "to unbury and raise the tomahawk against the whites."

My candid impression is, should Kamiakin be allowed to

return soon, pardoned and free, to his country, it will have the happiest and most salutary effect among the upper Indian tribes, and facilitate greatly all future transactions and views of government in their regard. The Indians are anxiously awaiting the result; I pray that it may terminate favorably with Kamiakin. The sight of Kamiakin's children, the poverty and misery in which I found them plunged, drew abundant tears from my eyes. Kamiakin, the once powerful chieftain, who possessed thousands of horses and a large number of cattle—he has lost all, and is now reduced to the most abject poverty. His brother, Schloom, if he lives, will come in in the course of summer. I left him on Clark's fork, sickly and almost blind; he could only travel by small journeys. Telgawax, a Pelouse, I think, is among the Buffalo Nez Perces; from all I can learn he has been the prime mover in all the late wars against Colonel Steptoe and Colonel Wright. His influence is not great, but he remains unceasing in his endeavors to create bitter feelings against the whites whenever he can meet with an opportunity.

With the highest consideration of respect and esteem for our worthy general and his assistant adjutant general, I remain, dear captain, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, *S. J.*,
Chaplain U. S. A.

A. PLEASONTON,
Captain 2d dragoons, A. A. Adjutant General.

These Indians were taken in custody by the Indian agent, and their detention occasioned distrust on the part of the chiefs of the good faith of the Government, but General Harney promptly interposed for their protection.

After accomplishing the pacification of the Indians, Father De Smet was sent overland through the various Indian tribes inhabiting the country between Oregon and the Missouri River. The following are his instructions:

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., June 1, 1859.

MY DEAR FATHER: The general commanding instructs me to enclose a copy of his Special Orders No. 59, of this

date, authorizing you to return to St. Louis through the different tribes of the interior, which you are so desirous to visit once again, for the purpose of confirming them in their good disposition towards the whites, as well as to renew their zeal and intelligence in the elements of Christianity, the means so signally productive of good-will and confidence in your labors of the past winter requiring such self-denial and resolution.

On your arrival in St. Louis the general desires you to report by letter to the Adjutant General at Washington, when your relations with the military service will cease, unless otherwise ordered by the War Department.

The general is anxious that I should communicate to you the deep regret with which he feels your separation from the service, and in making the announcement he is assured the same feeling extends to all those who have in any way been associated with you.

By the campaign of last summer submission had been conquered, but the embittered feelings of the two races excited by war still existed, and it remained for you to supply that which was wanting to the sword. It was necessary to exercise the strong faith which the red man possessed in your purity and holiness of character to enable the general to evince successfully towards them the kind intentions of the government, and to restore confidence and repose to their minds. This has been done; the victory is yours, and the general will take great pleasure in recording your services at the War Department. For such services no one feels more sensibly than yourself the proper acknowledgment is linked with the hopes that are cherished in the fulfillment of a Christian duty.

Satisfied that all necessary blessings will be bestowed upon you in whatever sphere of duty you may be called to serve, the general will always be happy to tender you the evidence of his esteem and friendship.

I remain, father, with the highest respect, your most obedient servant,

A. PLEASONTON,
Captain 2d Dragoons, Acting Ass't Adj't General.

Rev. P. J. DE SMET, *S. J.*,
Chaplain, &c., Fort Vancouver, W. T.

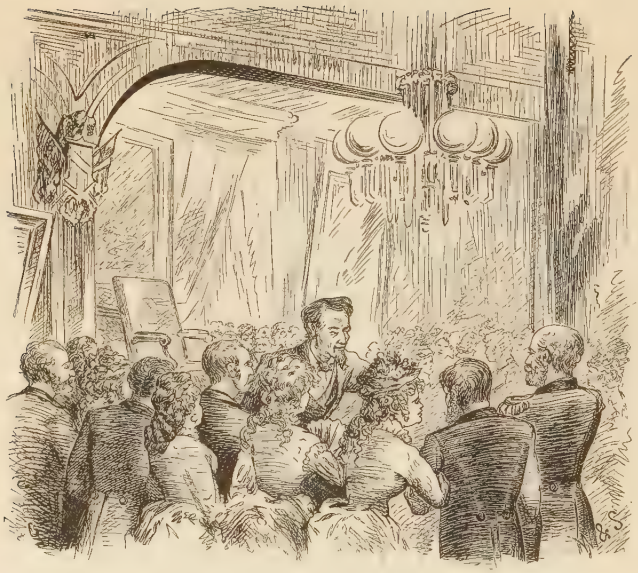
During the summer of 1859, General Harney visited the various posts in his department and examined the defences of the coast. His report to the commander-in-chief of July 19th indicates the importance of providing proper defences for Puget Sound, and calls the attention of the War Department to the fact that there was no ordnance heavier than a six-pounder to be had in Oregon and Washington Territories, and that while the British government kept three war vessels in the waters along the coast of their possessions, there was no American ship-of-war nearer than San Francisco.

While on this tour of inspection, General Harney paid a visit to Victoria, and was received by Governor Douglas, of British Columbia, with every mark of consideration and respect.

In July, 1859, General Harney found it necessary to administer a severe reprimand to First Lieutenant Henry V. DeHart, of the 3d artillery. That officer called upon Captain Pleasonton, the Assistant Adjutant General, and demanded a withdrawal of the language used in the communication containing the reprimand, and insisted he would hold him personally responsible for it. Lieutenant DeHart was placed in arrest and charges preferred against him. The law and regulations required that the President should call a general court martial for his trial. Before the court martial was ordered, General Scott, the commander-in-chief, interfered by ordering Lieutenant DeHart's release and return to duty. This interference was the occasion of a bitter correspondence, and the commander-in-chief indulged in some malignant remarks on General Harney's letter to the Secretary of War. We have seen in his conduct towards General Harney, while in Mexico, that General Scott missed no opportunity to do him injustice.

The letter of General Harney to the War Department, with General Scott's endorsement, is as follows:

FATHER DE SMET.



LINCOLN GREETING HARNEY.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., Dec. 9, 1859.

COLONEL: I have the honor to return Colonel Merchant's communication and enclosure, with the following explanation, in connection with the enclosed copies of letters from these headquarters to the commander of Fort Vancouver, dated July 23 and August 4, 1859.

In the letter of July 23, 1859, certain enlisted men were directed to be furloughed at dates anterior to that of the communication, for the reason that the necessary orders had been given verbally, at the proper times, but were misunderstood, and these men were improperly reported on extra duty. Such reports entitled the men to an increase of pay to which they had no just claim, and as soon as the facts were discovered the mistakes were corrected by the instructions of July 23. The post return of Fort Vancouver for the month of July, 1859, is correct. A copy is enclosed, and any reports at variance with this should be made to correspond.

It is proper on this occasion to call the attention of the War Department to three officers whose reports Colonel Merchant considers irregular.

First Lieutenant George Ihrie, who temporarily commanded "B" and "D" companies, has since tendered his resignation, and I trust, for the honor of the service, it has been accepted. This resignation was hastened by the fact of an officer having testified before the general court-martial which assembled for the trial of First Lieutenant Lyman M. Kellog, 3d artillery, that he would not believe Lieutenant Ihrie under oath, in any matter in which he was at all interested.

The general opinion of Lieutenant Ihrie's character, with those in the service who know him, is but little better than that above recorded.

The second officer, who was commanding company "A," 3d artillery, in the month of July, 1859, is First Lieutenant Lyman M. Kellog. He has since been tried for drunkenness on San Juan island. The proceedings in his case were sent direct to the Adjutant General by the court, and, from the heinousness of his offences,

he has doubtless been sentenced to be dismissed the service.

The third officer referred to by Colonel Merchant is First Lieutenant Henry V. De Hart, who only reported for duty in this department on the 10th day of July last, and was placed in arrest on the 31st of that month.

The short space of twenty days was sufficient for Lieutenant De Hart to develop his character.

He began by writing an impertinent and disrespectful communication to his commander, myself, which was returned to him three times by my orders, for which he insulted my staff officer, Captain Pleasonton, attempting to hold him responsible for my acts, and charging him with shielding himself behind his official position after insulting him.

Charges have been duly preferred against Lieutenant De Hart for this conduct, and were submitted to the War Department for its action. Nothing since has been heard from them; but on the arrival of Lieutenant General Scott, he informed me the charges would not be entertained by the War Department, and requested me to release Lieutenant De Hart from arrest.

I replied to the general-in-chief, through his staff officer, that I could not consent to the release of Lieutenant De Hart, as it would be impossible for me to maintain discipline if such outrageous conduct was permitted to pass unnoticed.

The general-in-chief then gave me a peremptory order to release Lieutenant De Hart from arrest. A copy of this order is enclosed.

I have now the honor to forward these charges against Lieutenant De Hart, for the consideration of his excellency the President of the United States; at the same time I submit my protest to the action of Lieutenant General Scott in this case, for the following reasons, viz:

First. It is seriously impairing the force of a vital military principle established for the government of the army in reference to staff officers, in admitting the conduct of Lieutenant De Hart to be wanting in offence, or not in express violation of the rules of war and the custom of our service, by claiming responsibility on the part of a

staff officer for the orders of his commander. In justice to the army, Lieutenant De Hart should be brought to trial.

Second. The act of Congress of the 29th of May, 1830, sections 1 and 2, reads as follows:

"Whenever a general officer commanding an army, or a colonel commanding a separate department, shall be the accuser or prosecutor of any officer in the army of the United States under his command, the general court-martial for the trial of such officer shall be appointed by the President of the United States.

"The proceeding and sentence of the said court shall be sent directly to the Secretary of War, to be by him laid before the President for his confirmation or approval, or orders in the case."

This act of Congress deprives the general-in-chief of any action in a case where the commander of a military department is the accuser of an officer in his command, and restricts the exercise of that power to the President in such cases. The general-in-chief, being deprived of the power of instituting a legal examination, is necessarily deprived by the law of the power of acquittal or interference under the same circumstances. For Lieutenant General Scott to order the release of Lieutenant De Hart, in opposition to my remonstrances, and before the action of the President had been duly published, was an illegal and arbitrary exercise of power, prejudicial to the service by tending to lessen my influence and authority over the troops of this command.

The necessity for the law above quoted is obvious when we consider the facilities such power would give a weak or envious commander-in-chief to injure an army in the field or separate military department in effecting purposes of his own detrimental to the honor and dignity of the service.

The law having assigned to the President the duty of deciding in the case of difficulty between myself, as the commander of this department, and an officer of my command, I respectfully request that the proper legal investigation by court-martial may be instituted in the case of Lieutenant De Hart, as the only available means of main-

taining discipline, and at the same time rendering justice to the parties concerned.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, commanding.

Colonel S. COOPER,
Adjutant General, U. S. Army, Washington City, D. C.

Remarks

On Brigadier General Harney's letter to the Secretary of War, dated December 9, 1859, which the Secretary has courteously caused to be sent to me, evidently against the wishes of the writer.

This act of the Secretary, with the rebuke that went direct from him to Brigadier General H., on the 7th inst., may, it is hoped, somewhat disabuse the latter of the besotted notion that he and his principal staff officer will be supported at Washington, no matter what blunder either of them may officially commit.

At the foot of page 3 the brigadier general says that I had informed him his charges against Lieutenant De Hart "would not be entertained by the War Department." This is an error with a motive. What I did say, or authorized Lieutenant Colonel Thomas to say in my behalf, was simply this: that from some slight allusion to the charges against Lieutenant De H., volunteered by the acting Secretary of War, in conversation with me at my last visit to Washington, I thought it doubtful whether a court would be ordered for the trial of the lieutenant on those charges; and in the meantime, as the lieutenant's services were needed, I wished the brigadier general to suspend the arrest, and to have the credit of doing a generous act. But this was not to his taste, which satisfied me that his object was not *discipline*, but *vengeance*. Hence I ordered the suspension myself, and added, expressly, in the order, that in case the War Department should appoint a court for the trial of the lieutenant, his arrest could then be renewed. Indeed, from the beginning I was surprised that the prosecutor should desire to place his charges before a court, as, to me, it appeared certain that the accused would not be the greater sufferer by an investigation.

In the next (4th) page of the letter the brigadier-general *protests* (*!*) against that temporary release of the accused, on two grounds:

1. That the suspension of the arrest "seriously impaired the force of a vital military principle," &c. There might be some little sense or application in this ground of protest if I had pardoned, or attempted to pardon, Lieutenant De Hart before trial; but it is utter nonsense when it is recollected that my order in the case did nothing that could delay a trial for a moment, or cripple, in the case of guilt, the ultimate vengeance of the law, but only relieved him from the private vengeance of his prosecutor or prosecutors until a court could take him in hand.

Under this same head something is said about a "violation of the rules of war and the custom of our service." According to these it is quite common to suspend the arrest of an officer in the long absence of any court, or to meet an exigency of the service, and I had the two motives in my act, as well as a third, viz: to relieve a meritorious young officer from the persecution of his prosecutors.

2. The second ground of protest set forth by the brigadier-general is as curious as it is malignant. He cites the act of May 29, 1850—a law expressly intended to protect the prosecuted against trial by courts appointed by prosecutors, (!) as if it could have any possible bearing on my act in the case under consideration; for I neither appointed a court nor placed the lieutenant beyond the reach of his prosecutor; and yet that act is treated as an acquittal "of the accused before trial or before the action of the President!" But, again, this blundering was not without a motive. It is used as a vehicle for insinuation against "a weak or envious (!) commander-in-chief," having "purposes of his own detrimental to the honor and dignity of the service!"

In the several quotations from the letter in question, it is plainly seen why the letter was clandestinely sent (over my head) to Washington, against the prescribed and indispensable rules of military correspondence.

In dismissing this most nauseating subject, I beg permission to add, that the highest obligations of my station compel me to suggest a doubt whether it be safe in respect to

our foreign relations, or just to the gallant officers and men in the Oregon department, to leave them longer, at so great a distance, subject to the ignorance, passion, and caprice of the present headquarters of that department.

Respectfully submitted to the Secretary of War.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

NEW YORK, February 14, 1860.

Lieutenant De Hart was released by orders of the Secretary of War, February 7, 1860, and subsequently became the author of an excellent treatise on the law of courts martial.

In vindication of General Harney's action toward Lieutenant De Hart and his quondam friend Ihrie, whose efforts have been to make themselves more conspicuous than useful to the country, the following letter from General Ingalls to General Harney, referring to the conduct of the latter while in command on the Pacific coast, will be found of the greatest interest.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI,
Chicago, Illinois, May 19, 1878.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I was greatly rejoiced to receive your letter the 15th ult. I have been moving rapidly of late, and just settled down to duty at these headquarters. I mention this simply to account for the delay.

I do not recollect that De Hart wrote a book. It is certain I never saw it, and I hope, out of respect to his memory and the truth, he made no assertion that you compelled soldiers to work on your farm at Fort Vancouver against their will, and for your private benefit. If such statements were made, they were made recklessly and maliciously. I was present and was perfectly familiar with what actually took place in the premises.

When you arrived at Vancouver you took quarters at the post, which was then commanded by the late Colonel Thompson Morris, of the 4th Infantry, a genial and gallant soldier, but not at all strict as to discipline, a fact which you would not fail to discover. In attempting to infuse an increased efficiency by causing recitations, drills and pa-

rades, you incurred the displeasure of several young officers who felt themselves aggrieved by your interference, and sought every pretext to annoy you. There was a scarcity of quarters at the post, and you were desirous of taking yours outside, if suitable accommodations could be created. Acting partly on this desire, and partly for pleasant occupation and exercise, you conceived the plan of clearing a piece of ground on the heights beyond Dundas Castle and building thereon a modest, inexpensive establishment to be occupied by yourself and Captain (now General) Pleasonton. To that end you issued short furloughs or leaves of absence to certain soldier-mechanics and laborers, in the absence of civilian help, and employed and paid them as a private citizen. You worked daily with them yourself, personally using the ax, hatchet, hammer and saw. The men, of course, were well pleased and benefited, and no public outlay was made in any way, nor public detriment occasioned. Young De Hart commanded a company, and he and Ihrie, perhaps more, made the order of furloughing the men a pretext for ill-timed, incorrect and unsoldierly criticisms on your course, on their morning reports. Arrests followed, appeals were made, through irregular channels, to your old-time enemy, General Scott, who did not fail still to be a bitter enemy. They tried to defeat and prostrate all your measures to secure discipline and the prompt performance of military duties. You were relieved and ordered to Washington before you had time to consummate necessary reforms; but had you remained six months longer, with *proper* support, you would then have left the department in excellent condition. I wish to declare that your entire administration in the now Department of the Columbia was energetic, wise, considerate, unselfish, and for the public interest alone.

Your determination to occupy the island of San Juan in 1859, was adopted on the application of the citizens of that island, after a personal inspection and mature deliberation. There was but one British subject on the island, and he was there simply in the capacity of herder. It was clearly manifest, as it is now, that the island belonged to us. You occupied and held it against all the threats of the British officials, and until all peril of collision was entirely

past. Had your conduct been sustained, we should have been in uninterrupted possession, and have been spared the humiliating spectacle of a joint occupancy, tiresome diplomatic intrigues, and years of delay. It was notorious that there would be no fight for the island on the part of England. But a weak and vacillating administration sent your old enemy out, who was bound in *malice*, if for no better reason, to undo what you had done. The result is known to all who read history. The British got the better of us, as they did in the settlement of the northeastern as well as northwestern boundaries.

I am happy to know that you stand your years so bravely and nobly. May they yet be many. I have much to thank you for. You were kind to me when I was a Lieutenant of dragoons in Louisiana, 33-5 years ago, and many a time since.

Very respectfully, your sincere friend,

RUFUS INGALLS,
Brevet Major General, U. S. Army.

General Wm. S. Harney,
U. S. Army, St. Louis, Mo.

So completely had the Indians been pacified through the good offices of Father De Smet and the active and efficient measures of General Harney, that the emigration to Oregon during the summer of 1859 continued to pour into the territory. The road surveyed and cut out by Captain Wallen had opened a convenient and safe passage from Salt Lake, while the troops engaged in that duty gave assurance of protection. In September a party of emigrants at Grande Ronde took occasion gracefully to acknowledge their obligations to the commanding General of the department in the following:

Grande Ronde, Oregon, September 30, 1859.

Sir: We desire, through you, to express our acknowledgments to General Harney, commanding in the State of Oregon and in Washington Territory, for the protection extended by him to the large emigration that has just passed through a hostile Indian country. The Indians had

avowed their determination not to allow the emigrants to pass through without committing acts of violence, but the general's troops were ready to meet us hundreds of miles from the Columbia river, and protect the lives of our wives and children.

We cannot take leave of you, captain, without presenting our thanks for your uniform kindness to us along the route, for supplying provisions and transportation to those families who were destitute, and for waiting patiently with us on the road until all have passed safely into the settlements. For these and the many other acts of courtesy from yourself and the officers and soldiers under your command, be pleased to accept our gratitude.

NICOLAS DUPUIS,
WILSON SMITH,
JACOB GOYETTE,
JOHN J. NYE,
JOSEPH HEMIOT,
S. C. DORO,
FRANCIS GOYETTE,
E. WARD,
NICOLAS DUPUIS, JR.

Captain WALLEN,
U. S. Army, commanding troops on Snake river.

In October of that year, the results of the wisdom of the commanding General in sending Father De Smet through the Indian country, manifested itself, and the General received the following letter:

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, October 5, 1859.

DEAR CAPTAIN: I hope my letters from the Rocky Mountains will have reached you in due time. They contained nothing of very particular interest. I reached Fort Benton, on the Missouri, on the 29th of July last, eleven days after the departure of the steamer "Chippeway." All appeared to be quiet among the Blackfeet. I found about two hundred lodges of Gros Ventres and Indians of various bands camped in the vicinity of the fort. I held several conferences with them of a peaceful and religious nature, during which they seemingly paid the utmost attention and respect.

Since the treaty made by Governors Stevens and Cummings they have strictly adhered to all its stipulations; and fair hopes, I think, may be entertained of the continuance of their good will towards the whites.

I left Rev. F. Hoecken among the Blackfeet, who is to commence a missionary establishment in their midst, with the approbation and apparently to the great satisfaction of all the Indians of this upper region. Fr. Hoecken has great hopes of its success.

At my arrival at Fort Benton my Indian horses had pretty nigh given out; their backs were sore and their hoofs much worn, which made me determine on returning to St. Louis by way of the Missouri river. I ordered the construction of a skiff and hired three young men to assist me in my downward course, adding a fourth one to the number to act as interpreter, pilot and hunter.

My long trip has been most happy and prosperous. I found the whole country quiet, with an abundance and a great variety of game, of which we gladly availed ourselves as a pleasant relief both to body and mind.

I left Fort Benton on the evening of the 3d of August and reached Fort Union on the 16th, having been detained for about two days by rain and contrary wind. Here I met about one hundred and fifty lodges of well-disposed Assiniboins, in whose camp I passed a whole day, confirming them in their submission to the government and in their good will to all their white brethren.

On the 22d I reached Fort Berthold, where I visited all the Minatarees or Gros Ventres of the Missouri, the little remaining band of Mandans and several lodges of Crow Indians. All were very friendly and attentive to everything I said, and appeared to be very desirous to keep on the best of terms with the whites; like their neighbors, (the Assiniboins,) they expressed to me a great desire to establish missions amongst them.

On the 24th, at Fort Clarke, I found the Rees or Ricarees in their old village. They were mourning over the loss of nine killed and a great number wounded. A numerous war party of Sioux (over five hundred strong) had recently attacked and defeated them. They were preparing for revenge and retaliation, but I advised them, being

the weakest party, not to expose themselves and not to provoke further the Sioux, who might speedily visit them again, with an increase of numbers, being too powerful for them. They besought me then to see the Sioux on my way down, and to sue for peace in their favor. I gave them some good and salutary advice, which they badly needed, and prosecuted my journey.

On the 1st of September I arrived at Fort Pierre. The Two-kettle band of Sioux, with a great number of Brules, Yanctons, and Yanctonnais, etc., were encamped in the prairie between the two forts. They were just receiving the long coming and beautiful uniforms of the general. On the next day some sixty or seventy horsemen made a grand display—and truly they looked well in their new dress. They paid me a particular visit and honored me with a salute. I took occasion to explain to them the character of a true soldier—the motives, why their great father, the President, at the particular request of his great general, had sent them this uniform and sword. I expressed the hope that thenceforth, under the protection of this fine band of chiefs and soldiers, in whose promises the greatest confidence had been placed, the white men would no longer be molested and the whole country remain quiet. All their speeches and answers, as a matter of course, were very favorable and no doubt sincere. Certain it is that the imposing uniform pleased them very much. May they keep their word! Whilst with them I fulfilled my promises to the Ricarees, and made known that I came from their enemies as a messenger of peace.

You know with what ease such messages are received and accepted, and how soon they may be forgotten again by these poor children of nature; however, they seemed to be in real good earnest on the occasion.

On the 9th of September I stopped a few hours at Fort Randall and dined with Colonel Monroe, in charge of the beautiful little post. The colonel had the great kindness to provide me with all the necessary little articles for my journey.

On the 16th I arrived in Omaha City, where I left my little skiff and went on board the steamer Thom. E. Tudd. We landed, at last, safe and sound, on the 23d of Septem-

ber, in the harbor of St. Louis, and in the midst of my old friends and acquaintances.

Sleeping in a house, after a couple of nights, seemed to prostrate me completely, and I was obliged to keep my bed for several days under the influence of a pretty severe fever; this prevented me from sending you sooner my little communication. I have sent in my resignation to government, as directed, and hope to receive soon an affirmative answer to that effect.

I shall ever gratefully remember the great kindness I have received whilst in the army from the general and from his worthy assistant adjutant general, and shall daily beseech heaven, in my poor prayers, for their prosperity and happiness; happy indeed should I ever have it in my power to make a suitable return.

Please present my best respects to the general, and receive, dear captain, the acknowledgment of my most profound respect and esteem.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant and friend,

P. J. DE SMET, *S. J.*

A. PLASONTON,
Captain 2d Dragoons, A. A. A. G., Fort Vancouver, W. T.

It is due General Harney to state that his perfect knowledge of the Indian character, and his sagacity in adapting his measures to their wants and peculiarities, rendered him the most eminently successful of the American officers who were assigned to command on the frontiers. In his intercourse with them he had one rule, and that was the rule of honesty and good faith. His intimate relations with Father De Smet, and the wisdom and advice of the Jesuit Father, confirmed him in his theory, and enabled him practically to enforce his sound and honest theories. In his dispatches from Puget's Sound, where he had a chance to see the effect of a similar policy carried out by the British government with their Indians, he calls attention to the superior management of the English and its good results.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SAN JUAN DIFFICULTIES EXPLAINED.

THE following account of the Island of San Juan, taken from the official publications of the Government, is proper to an understanding of the situation of things when General Harney took command of the Department of Oregon.

The first permanent occupation of the island of San Juan was effected on the 16th day of December, 1853, by the landing from the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "Beaver" of a flock of 1,300 sheep, under charge of Mr. Charles J. Griffin, then a clerk, now a chief trader in the company's service, and who has ever since remained on the island in charge of their property interests. The place had, however, been frequented the three previous years as a fishing station; the fishing parties were respectively under charge of Messrs. Simpson and McDonald, both clerks in the company's service; they occupied the island simply the few weeks of the salmon season, abandoning it as soon as that was over.

No English settler or colonist has ever been on the island, and no occupation or claim was attempted to be set up previous to the year 1853. In the summer of that year the propriety of claiming and occupying it was discussed by the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, and having determined on doing so, Mr. McDonald, the same who had been in charge of the fishing parties for the two previous years, was designated as the person to open a sheep farm, and thus make the claim through the company in behalf of the English government. This was determined in the month of July. Delays, however, arose

till the early part of December, when, on the arrival of Mr. Griffin from Fort Simpson, it was deemed that he was a more suitable person, and he was accordingly forthwith dispatched to San Juan for that purpose.

On learning of this invasion of American soil, J. M. Ebey, the collector of customs for the Puget's Sound district, at once notified Governor Douglas that the sheep were liable to seizure for being brought within the jurisdiction of his custom-house without paying duty. Governor Douglas thereupon claimed it as British soil, and appointed Mr. Griffin a stipendiary magistrate for the island of San Juan, as a dependency of Vancouver's island, thus extending the English laws over the island.

The United States collector having no means of enforcing the collection of the customs—there was at that time no revenue cutter in the district, or other available force—protested against the action of Governor Douglas, notifying him that eventually this unjustifiable intrusion would have to be accounted for. He also appointed a United States inspector of customs to remain on the island, directing him to keep an account of all goods and dutiable effects that might be landed by the English. Shortly afterwards a complaint was sworn to against Mr. Webber, the inspector, by Captain Sangster, the collector of Vancouver's island, and on that complaint, the purport of which was the very absurd one of calling himself a custom-house officer, a warrant was issued. Captain Sangster, himself, acting as constable, placed his hands on Webber's shoulder, and attempted to arrest him in the Queen's name. Webber declined to obey the arrest, threatening to shoot the first man who interfered with him in the possession of his rightful liberty, saying, first, that he had committed no crime; and, secondly, that he was on American soil, and would not recognize their right to issue any process against him. The warrant of arrest is still in Mr. Webber's possession. The constable having handed it to him, on his request to see it, he retained

it as a proof, should there be any necessity for such, of the strange and absurd course of conduct pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company and the English colonial authorities of Vancouver's island.

Mr. Webber remained on San Juan about a year, but was forced at last to leave on account of the daily insecurity of his life from the northern Indians, on several occasions having to seek the shelter of the Hudson's Bay House, at one time remaining several days within their enclosure without daring to go out.

He was succeeded in office by Oscar Olney, who left for the same reason after a few months, and he in turn by the present inspector, Paul K. Hubbs, jr., all of whom have, at different times, been compelled, temporarily, to avail themselves of the protection of Mr. Griffin, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent, and which, in justice to him, I must say was always freely accorded.

This feeling of insecurity, however, effectually prevented the settlement of the island, which would otherwise, from its position and its agricultural advantages, have been years ago almost entirely taken up by farmers.

At the first session of the legislative assembly of Washington Territory, in 1854, the upper part of Island county, which, by its organization in 1852 by the Oregon legislature, included within its boundaries the islands of San Juan, Lopez, Oreas, Blakely, Decatur and Shaw, was organized into the new county of Whatcom.

The assessment of San Juan was made with the other parts of the county the same year, but the enforcement of the tax was not made till March 18, 1855, when the sheriff, in pursuance with the requirements of the law in such cases, seized thirty odd sheep on the Hudson's Bay Company's farm, and sold them to the highest bidder, the payment of the taxes due the county having been refused by Mr. Griffin.

It is for this seizure the Hudson's Bay Company have

had the assurance to present a claim through the British minister to the State Department for the moderate sum of nearly $15,000. As a more full and complete answer to this extravagant claim, to show how out of all proportion to the damage incurred is the amount claimed, I annex herewith a review of the report of Governor Douglas, published in the "Pioneer & Democrat," at Olympia, Washington Territory, April 30, 1858.

Whatcom county never relinquished her claim, and the taxes were regularly assessed each year, though no attempt was again made to enforce them, in the strong hopes that prompt and energetic steps would be at once taken by the government to prevent any further necessity of having thus rigidly to assert her rights. The county authorities, in order to prevent any collision or difficulty, which they saw would be inevitable should they follow their original determination, contented themselves by simply each year making the annual assessment, feeling confident that in the end the rightful dues would be paid, looking forward to a speedy settlement of their undoubted right of sovereignty over the island.

The same was also the course of conduct pursued by the custom-house inspector, he merely taking an account of the vessels arriving and the goods landed.

The last assessment was made on the 20th of May, 1859, at which time there was due the county $935. There were 4,500 sheep, 40 head of cattle, five yoke of oxen, 35 horses, and 40 hogs on the island, the property of the company, with about 80 acres fenced and under cultivation, sowed principally with oats, peas, and potatoes. There were attached to the Hudson's Bay Company's station, besides Mr. Griffin, eighteen servants, three only of whom were white, and those three were naturalized American citizens, and exercised their rights as such at the territorial election held on the second Monday in July last, at which time there were twenty-nine actual settlers on the island.

The request was made by the American settlers as early as May to General Harney to give them a small force, say a detachment of twenty men, something that would give them a feeling of security, as continued apprehension was equally as bad as actual danger; it had prevented the settlement of San Juan and the adjoining isolated islands for years, this being the stopping place or point of departure from whence the northern marauding Indians issued to commit their depredations. Already several murders had been committed in the neighborhood, some of them quite recently, and they claimed that protection which citizens had a right to demand of their government. He was urgently asked to visit the island, to view its resources and its advantageous position. He did so on his inspecting tour, a few weeks later, of the military posts on the sound, after his return from a visit to Vancouver's island.

The settlers afterwards drew up the request in writing, which they had before verbally made, and forwarded for his action thereon. At the same time he was also informed of the expectation of the settlers, that one of their number would be arrested by the English authorities.

In accordance with this request, General Harney placed upon the island Captain Pickett's company of the 9th infantry. Troops had previously been sent there in small detachments to inquire into outrages committed. What was asked was permanent protection, and not an occasional visit of an inadequate force at long intervening periods. Not the most remote idea was entertained by the settlers that the thus affording them the protection to which they were entitled was to be made the excuse for the excitement so very unnecessarily created by the indiscreet action and demonstration made by Governor Douglas. They the less apprehended it, because those of their own number who had been thrown most in contact with the English authorities were convinced that the English themselves did not conscientiously believe they had any legitimate right what-

ever to the island. It had simply been located on by the Hudson's Bay Company, to give to a shadowy claim the substance of an occupation, hoping that they would be left undisturbed in possession long enough to dignify the pretence into something like a right—a mere stroke of colonial policy, perhaps successful from its very audacity. By claiming all the islands to the Rosario straits, rather than have any difficulty—and we were to be compelled to believe, if possible, we were on the verge of it—a compromise would be effected by the adoption of Washington channel, a narrow strait between the islands of San Juan and Lopez, in some parts a scant quarter of a mile across, and the surrender to them of Point Roberts, at the mouth of Fraser river, thus obtaining the most valuable of the islands—indeed the only one they cared about. These are known to have been their hopes and expectations ever since they took the bold step of occupying San Juan.

The same day that Captain Pickett landed, her Britannic Majesty's ship "Satellite" came into the harbor of San Juan and landed Major De Courcy as the English stipendiary magistrate. At the time the "Satellite" left Victoria it was not known that there were any American troops on the island or to be placed there. Captain Prevost, the commander of the "Satellite," stated that it was not even known at Victoria such a movement was contemplated. He had come over by direction of the colonial governor to install the English magistrate in his position as the civil official of the island.

So many false statements have been published in the "London Times," which are somewhat official in their nature, being written by Mr. Donald Fraser, a member of the executive council of Vancouver's island, and which are taken for the true history of the affair, instead of being, as they most generally are, exactly the reverse, that I deem it proper here to say, in contradiction of some of those misrepresentations, that no American magistrate or any other

civilian whatever came with Captain Pickett. As the magistrate of Whatcom county, on my arrival in the steamer "Constitution," on the 29th July, I came merely for a temporary visit; finding there was an English official claiming to be the civil authority of the island, I remained as such on the part of the United States. I did so in accordance with my own judgment of what was my duty in the premises, informing the English magistrate that whilst I could not for a moment acknowledge he had any right whatever to exercise any magisterial functions on the island, and the attempt to execute any process he might issue would be at once promptly met, yet I felt sure that, taking into consideration the disastrous consequences that might ensue by a collision on the part of the civil authority, he would do whatever lay in his power to avoid so deplorable a result. By direction of Governor Douglas, the British naval force were to obey any command or requisition that he might make upon them for assistance.

Major De Courcy realized the responsibility of his position, and acted throughout the whole difficulty with a discretion and good feeling which tended very much to preserve quiet and peace. That he was appointed for the express purpose of seeing British laws enforced upon the island is beyond doubt. His commission is dated July 26, 1859, and he was notified that he was to be appointed nearly a month previous. These are facts that cannot be disputed.

Governor Douglas's letter to General Harney is not correct in two essential points: one with regard to Mr. Dallas, and the other as to the intended attempt to apprehend an American citizen.

Mr. Dallas, it is true, did not come over in a man-of-war; he came over in the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "Beaver;" nor could he have known till after his arrival, as the occurrence had taken place but a few hours previous, anything with regard to the difficulty. His subsequent indiscret conduct, and the controlling influence he possesses

over Governor Douglas, is the whole cause of all the trouble on that score.

Mr. Dallas is not a chief factor; his powers are much more extensive. He is one of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and has extraordinary powers granted him by the company, as will be seen by his commission. So far from not being connected with the government, he has been ever since his residence on Vancouver's island—for nearly the last two years—a member of the executive council, as is also Mr. Donald Fraser, who was with him at the time above alluded to.

Immediately on his return from San Juan, the appointment of a magistrate for the island was determined on, and the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company was directed to lodge a complaint against the party referred to, not only on the ground of the killing of the animal, but also as a trespass upon lands belonging to the company, in addition to which he was directed to proceed against any other of the settlers that he might deem interfered with his sheep runs, or wherever he might think proper to place his flocks or other stock. *This cannot, with truth, be denied.*

As that would leave it at the option of the agent to claim the whole island, or, to the same effect, all the grazing portions, the result would have been, if enforced, the removal of all the settlers.

The only inference that can be drawn is, had there been no probability of at once an active resistance to the execution of process, the original intention would have been carried out.

The governor says further, in his letter, that had there been any complaint against an American citizen, he should have referred it to American authorities, and that he paid no attention to a complaint which was made by an English subject upon one occasion, out of respect to the friendly government to which the alleged offender belonged. Thoroughly conversant with the occurrences that have

taken place on San Juan from 1853 to the present time, I am, in common with other residents of the island, at a loss to know to what or whom he alludes. That he does not hesitate to take notice of exceedingly frivolous complaints, the one he forwards to General Scott with regard to the fine and imprisonment of a man who was engaged in the nefarious traffic of liquor to Indians, is in itself an evidence. The reply to his communication is hereto appended.

The island of San Juan does not command, as has been asserted, the entrance to the harbor of Victoria, nor the passage northward to the settlements in British Columbia.

It is not in any manner, nor could it by any means of offence or defence, become essential in a military point of view to the protection of either of the British colonies. The entrance to the harbor of Victoria is full eighteen miles from the nearest portion of San Juan, and the Canal del Haro has a width of over seven miles. It is the only one of the channels that is over cannon shot across.

Their claim is based upon the statement that in olden times the captains of their brigs and trading vessels more frequently used the Rosario straits; that it was more frequently used is owing to the fact of the Canal del Haro, which is in reality but a continuation of the Straits of Fuca, being a broad, deep arm of the sea; in case of adverse winds or calms the anchorage was both difficult to reach, and when found afforded but poor holding ground, whereas Rosario straits is a much narrower channel, in some parts not two miles across, and afforded everywhere secure anchorage. Yet on this flimsy pretext of the action and caution of Hudson's Bay Company's captains, who were well aware if they lost a vessel their employment ceased, is based their claim that the Rosario straits is the channel designated as the boundary by the treaty of 1846, notwithstanding the fact that in all the discussions in the United States Senate at the time of its ratification the Canal del Haro was especially alluded to as the boundary.

From Victoria to Fraser River, by the way of Rosario straits, is nearly twenty miles further than by the Canal del Haro. The steamer and other American vessels, during the Fraser River excitement, went a still nearer passage inside of Saturna island, called the "Active pass," but which the British surveying steamer "Plumper," that came out eighteen months after the United States coast survey steamer "Active" had surveyed and named the same—indeed went through it with the sailing directions of the "Active"—very coolly puts down on the chart as the "Plumper pass," a piece of appropriation that resembles only their claim to the islands.

In 1846 the vessels owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, independent of their ships bringing their supplies direct from England and returning with furs, were the steamer "Beaver," the brigs "Mary Dare" and "Cadboro," and the schooner "Una."

The "Beaver" went up north as far as Sitka, supplying the northern posts and trading with the Russian Indians; the "Mary Dare" and "Una" traded to the Sandwich Islands, whilst the "Cadboro" was more especially for the posts on Fraser River and Puget's Sound.

The "Beaver" used the Canal del Haro, as did also the "Cadboro," when she had a leading breeze. One of the passages out of the Canal del Haro into the Gulf of Georgia is named the Cadboro passage. All of the vessels had been years employed in the fur trade; the "Beaver" since 1835, the first steamer ever on the Pacific, and the "Cadboro" as far back as 1829.

The island of San Juan is nineteen miles long, with a width of seven miles, containing about 50,000 acres of land. The soil is fertile. There are on it many prairies, and, as the woods have not that thick matted undergrowth so common to the Oregon coast, is easy of access in all directions. The causes before assigned are the only reasons why it has not been before entirely occupied.

There is but a small band of Indians residing on the island, a part of the Lummi tribe of Bellingham Bay. The Sanich and Cowitchins, of Vancouver's island, both large tribes, frequent it in great numbers during the fishing season in summer. The Sanich are a tribe whose winter camping grounds adjoin the town of Victoria.

As their land is of great value, and exceedingly desirable as a continuation of the water front of the town, the motion was made some months since in the colonial legislature, and gravely discussed, to remove them from Victoria as seriously interfering with the interests of the community, and locate them permanently on the island of San Juan. It was introduced and urged mainly by the speaker, Dr. Helenchen, a son-in-law of the governor. Parties of the Bella-Bellas, Milbauks-chim-zi-ans, Hyder, Stickens, and Tongas, constantly visit the island. The three last tribes are the most dangerous of all, though none are to be trusted; they live far to the north. The Hyders are from Queen Charlotte island; the Stickens and Tongas from the Russian possessions. It is these northern Indians that keep the whole upper part of the sound in a state of continual dread. Their canoes are large, carrying generally from 20 to 30 paddles, sometimes double that number, all being well armed, each canoe having an arm-chest, in which there is stowed a gun for each man, in addition to the one beside him for immediate use. They move rapidly from point to point, await a favorable opportunity to commit a depredation, and then push at once for their homes. What conduces in some manner to the protection of the settlers is, that the tribes of the sound are our outposts of alarm; between them there is always an open war, though, as the northern Indians are bold and remarkably athletic men, having a singular resemblance to the Tartar race in complexion and appearance, they never attack them unless in much greater numbers, and only then when at a great disadvantage.

As they never have been punished for their depredations,

each year they increase in boldness and numbers. The Stickens are the Indians who committed the murders in Bellingham Bay in 1854, and a branch of the tribe called the Ka-acks, the murder of Colonel Ebey, in the summer of 1856.

The heads of the persons murdered are always carried off as trophies, around which, on their arrival amongst their tribes, are performed ceremonies similiar to the scalp dance of the plains.

From the admirable manner in which the Hudson's Bay Company have managed the Indians—treating them with kindness, and at the same time with great firmness; just so sure as they committed an outrage on persons or property, just so sure were they certain to be promptly punished, never allowing that terrible delay of which our frontier settlers have so bitterly experienced its evils, to rob the example of its proper effect, but doing whatever they deemed justice required at once and thoroughly, thus insuring to their agents and employes, even in the most distant and isolated regions, entire security—one of their number could go anywhere through the most warlike of the tribes or remain in their neighborhood unmolested, whilst an American dared not trust himself in their vicinity, except by deceiving them as to his nationality. The Hudson's Bay Company's servants could remain in safety on San Juan; the Americans could not. The question resolved itself into whether the island was to be abandoned or the settlers protected.

We have refrained in the former chapter from giving an account of the difficulties growing out of the conflicting claims of the United States and the Hudson's Bay Company to the little but important Island of San Juan. Our cousins of our own blood, from whom we are descended, are an aggressive and land-loving people. The English have managed to acquire territory all over the world. The sun never sets on the dominions of Victoria, by the grace of

God Queen of Great Britain, Ireland and France, and Empress of the Indies. The pillars of Hercules are in her possession. She holds the Island of Malta, owns the isthmus of Suez, is now demonstrating for the Bosphorus, and her fleets are in the Sea of Marmora.

The complications which might have resulted in a war between England and America came to a head while General Harney was in command of the Department in Oregon. His promptness in meeting the issue resulted most happily. In the last chapter we did not allude to the affair of the Island of San Juan because we deemed it worthy of a special chapter to itself, and besides, it would have distracted the mind of the reader from the important summary we were endeavoring to make of General Harney's administration in command of the department of Oregon.

That sagacious statesman, William L. Marcy, was Secretary of State, under Mr. Pierce. He had been Secretary of War under Mr. Polk, and had as such rendered great service to the nation, had especially earned the gratitude of the army in the matter of the protection of junior officers against the capricious tyranny of their superiors. We have already given an account of the vindication of General Harney when Colonel of 2nd Dragoons, by Secretary Marcy, against General Scott, who sought to depose him of his command and place Major Sumner in charge of the regiment. As early as 1855, Mr. Marcy saw the necessity of maintaining America's rights on the Pacific, and at the same time preserving peace with our kinspeople across the Atlantic. He accordingly instructed Governor Stephens, in that terse, perspicuous and manly English for which his state papers are so remarkable, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 14, 1855.

* * * * * * *

He [the President] has instructed me to say to you that

the officers of the territory should abstain from all acts on the disputed grounds which are calculated to provoke any conflicts, so far as it can be done without implying the concession to the authority of Great Britain of an exclusive right over the premises.

The title ought to be settled before either party should exclude the other by force, or exercise complete and exclusive sovereign rights within the fairly disputed limits. Application will be made to the British government to interpose with the local authorities on the northern borders of our territory to abstain from like acts of exclusive ownership, with the explicit understanding that any forbearance on either side to assert the rights, respectively, shall not be construed into any concession to the adverse party.

By a conciliatory and moderate course on both sides, it is sincerely hoped, that all difficulties will be avoided until an adjustment of the boundary line can be made in a manner mutually satisfactory. The government of the United States will do what it can to have the line established at an early period.

W. L. MARCY.

On the 17th of July, 1855, he addressed a note to Mr. Crampton of the British legation, with the suggestion that pending negotiations and the settlement of conflicting claims in Oregon, means should be found to prevent a conflict between the citizens of the two governments. The wise forbearance which resulted from Mr. Marcy's timely note to Mr. Crampton prevented any open collision between the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and the citizens of Oregon, at the same time that each government had not, by yielding to the forms of law and abstaining from actual hostilities, conceded any question or matter of right. As has been related, the sheriff of Whitcom County, Oregon, in collecting his taxes on San Juan island, had made a levy on the sheep belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company for taxes, the American settlers in May, 1859, requested General Harney to give them a small force to give them a feeling of security. The want of a competent force had pre-

vented a settlement of Americans on the island and the adjoining islands for years. General Harney issued orders to Lieut. Colonel S. Casey, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., July 18, 1859.

SIR: By Special Orders No. 72, herewith inclosed, you will perceive the general commanding has withdrawn the garrison from Bellingham and Townsend, and has placed the steamer "Massachusetts" under your orders for the better protection and supervision of the waters of Puget's Sound.

To carry out these instructions with more effect, the general commanding desires me to communicate to you the following directions: The steamer "Massachusetts" will proceed without delay to Bellingham, to be used in establishing company "D," 9th infantry, on San Juan island; after which she will convey company "I" of the 4th infantry to Steilacoom, when the company you assign for service on the steamer will be embarked under your supervision. Article 37, general regulations: Troops on board of transports, will, as far as practicable, govern in the disposition of the company on board. As no surgeon is available for the ship, medical attendance will be obtained at Fort Steilacoom or San Juan island, when required, medical supplies, however, with directions for use, will be furnished by your medical officer for such probable cases of danger as will require immediate attention.

After the ship has received the necessary stores and supplies, she will be instructed to cruise in the sound among the islands frequented by the northern Indians, who will be warned not to come into any of the waters under the jurisdiction of the United States, which embraces all the islands and currents to the east of the Straits of Haro.

Any opposition by these Indians will be speedily checked, and the requirements of these instructions will be maintained by force, if necessary. The ordinary rendezvous of the steamer Massachusetts, for wood and water, will be San Juan island, and should the commander of that island desire the assistance of any force from the ship for purposes connected with the defense of the island, the officer in com-

mand of the ship will be instructed to furnish the force and co-operate with the troops in all measures requiring its safety and protection. At the end of every two months the ship will visit Fort Steilacoom to obtain supplies, and for the muster and inspection required by the regulations. The command on the steamer Massachusetts will be borne on the post return of Fort Steilacoom, as a component part of its garrison.

In the ordinary cruising of the sound, the ship will be propelled by sail only, but at least four days' fuel for steam will be kept constantly on board, to be used whenever necessity requires celerity of motion. The ship will visit the light-houses on the sound in her cruises, and furnish them any protection that may be needed. As the ship is mounted with eight thirty-two pounders, and the proper ammunition has been provided, the crew will be instructed, under the direction of the master of the vessel in their use, to obtain the most efficient action from all parties in cases requiring it. Whenever circumstances occur requiring a deviation from the tenor of these instructions, you are authorized to use your own discretion and judgment in the matter, reporting the occurrence to this office. The general commanding is pleased to communicate his confidence in the zeal, energy, and intelligence you exercise in the discharge of your duties to the service, and he rests assured the details transmitted in this communication will be rendered with satisfaction and advantage to such worthy qualities.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. PLEASONTON,

Captain 2d Dragoons, A. Ass't. Adj't. General.

First Lieutenant S. CASEY,

9th Infantry commanding Fort Steilacoom, Puget's Sound.

On the 11th of July Captain George E. Pickett was ordered to establish himself with his company at Bellevue, on the Island of San Juan. His instructions were that he was to protect the inhabitants from hostile incursions of the Indians from British America and the Russian possessions. He was ordered not to allow any force of the Indians in Puget Sound or to visit San Juan, or the neighboring

islands over which the United States had any jurisdiction. He was instructed to warn them in a peaceable but firm manner to return to their own country, and if they showed any hostile opposition, to use the most decisive measures to enforce his demands; and the troops on the steamer Massachusetts, cruising in the sound, were instructed to support Captain Pickett with their whole force.

Captain Pickett's second instruction:

Second. Another serious and important duty will devolve upon you in the occupation of San Juan island, arising from the conflicting interests of the American citizens and the Hudson's Bay Company establishment at that point. This duty is to afford adequate protection to the American citizens in their rights as such, and to resist all attempts at interference by the British authorities residing on Vancouver's Island, by intimidation or force, in the controversies of the above-mentioned parties.

This protection has been called for in consequence of the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Dallas, having recently visited San Juan island with a British sloop-of-war, and threatened to take an American citizen by force to Victoria for trial by British laws. It is hoped a second attempt of this kind will not be made, but to insure the safety of our citizens the general commanding directs you to meet the authorities from Victoria at once, on a second arrival, and inform them they cannot be permitted to interfere with our citizens in any way. Any grievances they may allege as requiring redress can only be examined under our own laws, to which they must submit their claims in proper form.

The promptness of General Harney in taking possession of San Juan, rather startled the authorities at Washington, and on the receipt of the General's dispatches the following letter from the acting Secretary of War was sent to him:

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 3, 1859.

SIR: Your dispatch of the 19th July last, addressed to the general-in-chief, has been forwarded to this department and laid before the President for his consideration.

The President was not prepared to learn that you had ordered military possession to be taken of the island of San Juan or Bellevue. Although he believes the Straits of Haro to be the true boundary between Great Britain and the United States, under the treaty of June 15, 1846, and that, consequently, this island belongs to us, yet he had not anticipated that so decided a step would have been resorted to without instructions. In cases respecting territory in dispute between friendly nations it is usual to suffer the *status* of the parties to remain until the dispute is terminated one way or the other, and this more especially whilst the question is pending for decision before a joint commission of the two governments. If you had good reason to believe that the colonial authorities of Great Britain were about to disturb the *status* by taking possession of the island and assuming jurisdiction over it, you were in the right to anticipate their action.

* * * * * The President will not, for the present, form any decided opinion upon your course on the statement of facts presented in your dispatch. He will await further details, which he expects to receive from you by the next steamer. He is especially anxious to ascertain whether, before you proceeded to act, you had communicated with Commissioner Campbell, who could not then have been distant from you, and who was intrusted by this government, in conjunction with the British Commissioner, to decide this very boundary question.

In the meantime care ought to be taken to apprise the British authorities that possession has thus been taken solely with the view of protecting the rights of our citizens on the island, and preventing the incursions of the northern Indians into our territory, and not with any view of prejudging the question in dispute or retaining the island should the question be finally decided against the United States.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. R. DRINKARD,
Acting Secretary of War.

Brigadier-General Wm. S. Harney,
Commanding Department of Oregon, Fort Vancouver.

General Harney had, in the meantime, forwarded a copy of the petition of the American citizens of San Juan, asking protection, upon which he had based his action in posting Captain Pickett's force on the island.

SAN JUAN ISLAND, July 11, 1859.

To General Harney, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific division of the United States army:

The undersigned, American citizens on the island of San Juan, would respectfully represent: That in the month of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, the house of the United States inspector of customs for this island was attacked and fired into in the night by a party of Indians living on this island, and known as the Clallams, and had it not been for the timely aid of the Hudson's Bay Company, the inspector would have fallen a victim to their savage designs. In the month of July following we found on the beach, close to the above-mentioned Indian camp, the bodies of two white men, apparently Americans, who had, when found, cotton cords about their necks which had been used to conceal them under water. Last fall another daring murder was committed in the middle of the day, and in the plain sight of us all here, without the slightest chance of our rendering them assistance. Only ten days ago another body was found on our shore which had been the victim of foul play. Inclusive with the above dangers that we are exposed to from our neighboring Indians, we are continually in fear of a descent upon us by the bands of marauding northern Indians, who infest these waters in large numbers, and are greatly retarding the progress of the settlement of this island.

According to the treaty concluded June 15, 1846, between the United States and Great Britain, (the provisions of which are plain, obvious, and pointed to us all here,) this and all the islands east of the Canal del Haro belong to us; we therefore claim American protection in our present exposed and defenseless position.

With a view of these facts, and for the essential advantage of having this and the surrounding islands immediately settled, we most earnestly pray that you will have stationed on this island a sufficient military force to protect us from

the above-mentioned dangers until we become sufficiently strong to protect ourselves.

J. M. Haggarat.	Noil Ent.
Samuel McCauley.	Michael Farris.
J. E. Higgins.	George Perkins.
Chas H. Hubbs.	Alex. McDonald.
L. A. Cutlar.	Peter Johnson.
William Butler.	Angus McDonald.
J. D. Warren.	William Smith.
H. Wharton, jr.	Charles McCoy.
John Witty.	D. W. Oakes.
B. S. Andrews.	Paul K. Hubbs, jr.
John Hunter McKay.	Paul K. Hubbs.

On the 7th of August, General Harney's dispatches to the War Department give a full account of the situation.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., August 7, 1859.

COLONEL: I have the honor to enclose, for the information of the War Department, a copy of a proclamation of Governor Douglas of her Britannic Majesty's island of Vancouver, also a copy of my reply to the same, with a copy of a letter I have addressed to the senior officer of our navy on this coast, requesting him to send a proper force to observe the three British vessels-of-war, which are used to threaten, with attempts to intimidate, our people on the sound.

I have also the honor to enclose a correspondence between Captain George Pickett, 9th infantry, commanding on San Juan island, and Captain Homby, the senior officer commanding her Majesty's ships "Tribune," "Plumper," and "Satellite."

The threatening attitude the British authorities have seen proper to assume, has caused me to order Lieutenant-Colonel Casy to reinforce Captain Pickett with his three companies from Fort Steilacoom, which post will be occupied by four companies of the 3d artillery from Fort Vancouver until further orders.

In my report of July 19, 1859, to the head-quarters of the army, I stated I had ordered the company from Fort

Bellingham to San Juan island to protect the American citizens residing on that island from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's island did not hesitate to offer them on every occasion. On my visit to San Juan island, mentioned in that report, the United States inspector of customs on the island, Mr. Hubbs, made an official complaint in behalf of the American citizens of the outrages perpetrated upon them by the British authorities of Vancouver's island, who are connected with the Hudson's Bay Company establishment, and who have a sheep farm on the island. This company pretend to own the whole island, which is some fifteen or twenty miles long and five or six broad—while their improvements on the island are a few old houses and some small fields under inclosure.

A week or ten days before my arrival on that island one of the Americans shot a pig belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, after having been greatly provoked by the person in charge, to whom he had applied to have the pig secured, as it damaged his fields. This request was treated with contempt, and the pig was shot, the American offering twice the value for the animal, which was refused. The next day the British ship-of-war "Satellite," with Mr. Dallas on board, who is the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a son-in-law of Governor Douglas, visited the island and threatened to take the American to Victoria, by force, for trial. The American resisted, seized his rifle, and in return told Mr. Dallas he might take him, but he would kill him first. I was also informed that the Hudson's Bay Company had threatened at different times to send the northern Indians down upon them and drive them from the island. This statement has since been confirmed to me by some of the most reliable citizens of the Sound. I felt it my duty therefore to give these citizens the protection they sought with such just and pressing claims.

Governor Douglas is the father-in-law of Mr. Dallas, and, having the local rank of vice-admiral, he commands the British navy in the Sound. This accounts in some measure for the use of the British ships-of-war in the supervision of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. To attempt

to take, by armed force, an American citizen from our soil, to be tried by British laws, is an insult to our flag and an outrage upon the rights of our people, that has roused them to a high state of indignation. I therefore most respectfully request the President to consider the necessities for an increased naval force on this station, to give confidence to the people that their rights will be respected.

It would be well for the British government to know the American people of this coast will never sanction any claim they may assert to any other island in Puget's Sound than that of Vancouver, south of the 49th parallel, and east of the Canal del Haro; any attempt at possession by them will be followed by a collision.

I desire to assure the department that while there is no one more desirous than myself for an amicable settlement of the difficulties raised by the British authorities of Vancouver's Island at this time, I shall use all the means at my command to maintain the position I have assumed in regard to San Juan island; being fully convinced that whatever respect and consideration might have been yielded to the statements of a doubtful claim advanced in due form, have been forfeited by the overbearing, insulting, and aggressive conduct her Majesty's executive officers have displayed not only towards our citizens but to the officer commanding our troops at San Juan.

I am, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General Commanding.

Colonel S. COOPER,
Adjutant General, Washington City, D. C.

About the same time dispatches from Lieutenant Colonel Casey, 9th infantry, informed General Harney of the menacing attitude of the English and Hudson's Bay Company, with the suggestion that "the authorities on the other side are trying to bluff a little." But on the 30th of July Captain Pickett had demanded of Colonel Casey the active co-operation of the forces at Fort Steilacoom and the aid of the steamer Massachusetts. His dispatches best explain the situation:

MILITARY CAMP,
San Juan Island, W. T., July 30, 1859.

MY DEAR COLONEL: I have the honor to inclose you some notes which passed this morning between the Hudson's Bay authorities and myself. From the threatening attitude of affairs at present, I deem it my duty to request that the Massachusetts may be sent at once to this point. I do not know that any actual collision will take place, but it is not comfortable to be lying within range of a couple of war steamers. The "Tribune," a 30-gun frigate, is lying broadside to our camp, and from present indications everything leads me to suppose that they will attempt to prevent my carrying out my instructions.

If you have any boats to spare I should be happy to get one at least. The only whale boat we had was, most unfortunately, staved on the day of our departure.

We will be very much in want of some tools and camp equipage. I have not the time, colonel, to make out the proper requisition, but if your quartermaster can send us some of these articles it will be of great service.

I am, sir, in haste, very truly, your obedient servant,

G. E. PICKETT,
Captain 9th Infantry.

Lieutenant Colonel S. CASEY,
9th Infantry, Commanding Fort Steilacoom, W. T.

P. S.—The Shubrick has rendered us every assistance in her power, and I am much indebted for the kindness of officers.

BELLEVUE FARM, SAN JUAN, July 30, 1859.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the island of San Juan, on which your camp is pitched, is the property and in the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to request that you and the whole of the party who have landed from the American vessels will immediately cease to occupy the same. Should you be unwilling to comply with my request, I feel bound to apply to the civil authorities. Awaiting your reply,

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHAS. JNO. GRIFFIN,
Agent Hudson's Bay Company.

Captain PICKETT, &c., &c., &c.

MILITARY CAMP,
San Juan, W. T., July 30, 1859.

SIR: Your communication of this instant has been received. I have to state in reply that I do not acknowledge the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to dictate my course of action. I am here by virtue of an order from my government, and shall remain till recalled by the same authority.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
GEORGE E. PICKETT,
Captain 9th U. S. Infantry, Commanding.

Mr. CHARLES J. GRIFFIN,
Agent Hudson's Bay Company, San Juan, W. T.

MILITARY POST,
San Juan, W. T., August 3, 10 P. M.

CAPTAIN: I have the honor to report the following circumstances: The British ships, the "Tribune," the "Plumper," and the "Satellite" are lying here in a menacing attitude. I have been *warned off* by the Hudson's Bay agent; then a summons was sent me to appear before a Mr. De Courcy, an official of her Britannic Majesty. To-day I received the inclosed communications, and I also inclose my answer to same.

I had to deal with three captains, and I thought it better to take the brunt of it. They have a force so much superior to mine that it will be merely a mouthful for them; still I have informed them that I am here by order of my commanding general, and will maintain my position if possible.

They wish to have a conjoint occupation of the island; I decline anything of that kind. They can, if they choose, land at almost any point on the island, and I cannot prevent them. I have used the utmost courtesy and delicacy in my intercourse; and if it is possible, please inform me at such an early hour as to prevent a collision. The utmost I could expect to-day was to suspend any proceeding till they have time to digest a *pill* which I gave them. They wish to throw the onus on me, because I refused to allow them to land an equal force, and each of

us to have military occupation, thereby wiping out both civil authorities.

I say I cannot do so till I hear from the general.

I have endeavored to impress them with the idea that my authority comes directly through you from Washington.

The "Pleiades" left this morning for San Francisco with Colonel Hawkins.

The excitement in Victoria and here is tremendous. I suppose some five hundred people have visited us. I have had to use a great deal of my *peace-making* disposition in order to restrain some of the sovereigns.

Please excuse this hasty, and I am almost afraid unintelligible letter, but the steamer is waiting, and I have been writing under the most unfavorable circumstances. I must add that they seem to doubt the authority of the general commanding, and do not wish to acknowledge his right to this island, which they say is in dispute, unless the United States government have decided the question with Great Britain. I have so far staved them off, by saying that the two governments have without doubt settled this affair; but this state of affairs cannot last, therefore I most respectfully ask that an express be sent me immediately on my future guidance. I do not think there are any moments to waste. In order to maintain our dignity we must occupy in force, or allow them to land an equal force, which they can do now, and possibly will do in spite of *my* diplomacy.

I have the honor to inclose all the correspondence which has taken place. Hoping that my course of action will meet with the approval of the general commanding, and that I may hear from him in regard to my future course at once.

I remain, captain, your obedient servant,

G. E. PICKETT,
Captain 9th Infantry, Commanding Post.

Captain A. PLEASONTON,
Mounted Dragoons, Adjutant General,
Department of Oregon, Fort Vancouver, W. T.

On the 3d of August, Captain Hornby, then in command of his Majesty's ship "Tribune," addressed a note to Captain Pickett, asking him to meet him on board the ship. To

this Captain Pickett replied, by asking the British officer to meet him in his camp, which invitation was duly accepted, and Captain Hornby made a formal written communication as follows:

HER MAJESTY'S SHIP "TRIBUNE,"
San Juan Island, August 3, 1859.

SIR: In accordance with your request for a written communication, I have the honor to transmit the substance of the declarations and propositions made by me to you today.

Having drawn your attention to the extract of a dispatch from Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, to his excellency Governor Stevens, dated July 14, 1855, prescribing the conduct that should be pursued by the officers of the United States in respect of the disputed grounds, I asked if that was the tenor of your present instructions, or if the relations of the two States had been placed on other than a friendly footing by any of a more recent date.

To this you replied by referring to the date of the dispatch.

I then asked you, in the name of Governor Douglas, the terms on which you had occupied the island of San Juan; to which you replied that you did so by order of the "general commanding," to protect it as a part of the United States territory, and that you believed he acted under orders from the government at Washington.

I then presented to you the governor's protest against any such occupation or claim. I represented to you that the fact of occupying a disputed island by a military force necessitated a similar action on our part; that again involved the imminent risk of a collision between the forces, there being a magistrate of each nation now acting on the island, either of whom might call on those of their country for aid.

To prevent the chance of such collision, I suggested that a joint military occupation might take place, and continue until replies could be received from our respective governments; and, during such times, that the commanding officers of the forces should control and adjudicate between their respective countrymen, the magistrates being with-

drawn on both sides, or the action of their courts suspended for the time being, their employment not being necessary under a joint military occupation.

I suggested this course as apparently the only one left (short of entire evacuation by the troops under your command) likely to produce the object so much to be desired, viz: the prevention of a collision between the forces or authorities of the two countries, landed or in the harbor of San Juan—an event which must lead to still more disastrous results, by permanently estranging the friendly relations subsisting between Great Britain and the United States of America.

You replied that you had not authority to conclude such terms, but suggested the reference of them to General Harney and Governor Douglas, without interference in any way with our liberty of action.

I pointed out that my proposition was strictly in accordance with the principles laid down in Mr. Marcy's dispatch, and that yours, on the other hand, offered no security against the occurrence of some immediate evil.

That as officers of the United States government had committed an act of aggression by landing an armed force on this island pending the settlement of our respective claims to its sovereignty, without warning to us, and without giving you a discretionary power of making any necessary arrangements, that the United States and its officers alone must be responsible for any consequences that might result, either immediate or future

I agreed to your request to furnish you with the substance of the conversation in writing, and concluded by informing you that having now made what seemed to me a most equitable and simple proposition, I reserved to myself, in the event of your non-acceptance of it, entire liberty of action either for the protection of British subjects and property, or of our claims to the sovereignty of the island, until they are settled by the Northwest Boundary Commission, now existing, or by the respective governments.

I believe I have now given you the substance of our conversation, and have only to add my regret that you were not able to agree to a course which it appears to me would totally avoid the risk of a collision.

The responsibility of any such catastrophe does not, I feel, now rest on me or on her Majesty's representative at Vancouver's island.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

GEOFFREY PHIPPS HORNBY,
Captain and Senior Officer.

Captain GEORGE PICKETT,
Commanding Detachment United States 9th Regiment.

To which Captain Pickett replied:

MILITARY POST,
Island of San Juan, W. T., August 3, 11 p. m.

SIR: I have honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, in reference to the conversation which was held to-day between ourselves and Captains Prevost and Richards. Your recollection of said conversation seems to be very accurate. There is one point, however, which I dwelt upon particularly, and which I must endeavor, as the officer representing my government, to impress upon you, viz: That, as a matter of course, I, being here under orders from my government, cannot allow any joint occupation till so ordered by my commanding general, and that any attempt to make such occupation as you have proposed, before I can communicate with General Harney, will be bringing on a collision which *can* be avoided by awaiting this issue. I do not for one moment imagine that there will any difficulty occur on this island which will render a military interference necessary; and I therefore deem it proper to state that I think no discredit can reflect upon either of us, or our respective flags, by remaining in our present positions until we have an opportunity of hearing from those higher in authority.

I hope most sincerely, sir, you will reflect on this, and hope you may coincide with me in my conclusion. Should you see fit to act otherwise, you will then be the person who will bring on a most unfortunate and disastrous difficulty, and not the United States officials.

I have thus hurriedly answered your communication in order to avoid any delay and its consequences.

I remain, with much respect, your obedient servant,

GEORGE E. PICKETT,
Captain 9th Infantry, Commanding Post.

CAPTAIN G. PHIPPS HORNBY,
Commanding her Britannic Majesty's ship "Tribune,"
Harbor of San Juan, Washington Territory.

On the 2nd day of August, Governor Douglas issued the following proclamation:

By James Douglas, C. B., governor and commander-in-chief in and over the colony of Vancouver's island and its dependencies, vice-admiral of the same, &c.

The sovereignty of the island of San Juan, and of the whole of the Haro archipelago, has always been undeviatingly claimed to be in the crown of Great Britian. Therefore, I, James Douglas, do hereby, formally and solemnly, protest against the occupation of the said island, or any part of the said archipelago, by any person whatsoever, for or on behalf of any other power, hereby protesting and declaring that the sovereignty thereof by right now is, and always hath been, in her Majesty Queen Victoria and her predecessors, Kings of Great Britain.

Given under my hand and seal, at Victoria, Vancouver's island, on this second day of August, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, and in the twenty-third year of her Majesty's reign. JAMES DOUGLAS.

To which General Harney replied:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF OREGON,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., August 6, 1859.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you of the receipt of an official copy of a protest made by you to the occupation of San Juan island, in Puget's Sound, by a company of United States troops under my command.

This official copy was furnished by Captain Hornby, of her Majesty's ship "Tribune," to the United States officer in command at San Juan island, Captain George Pickett, of the 9th infantry of the American army, together with a

communication threatening a joint occupation of San Juan island by the forces of her Majesty's ships "Tribune," "Plumper," and "Satellite," now in the harbor of that island by your orders.

As the military commander of the department of Oregon, assigned to that command by the orders of the President of the United States, I have the honor to state, for your information, that by such authority invested in me I placed a military command upon the island of San Juan to protect the American citizens residing on that island from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's island and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company recently offered them by sending a British ship-of-war from Vancouver's island to convey the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company to San Juan for the purpose of seizing an American citizen and forcibly transporting him to Vancouver's island to be tried by British laws.

I have reported this attempted outrage to my government, and they will doubtless seek the proper redress from the British government. In the meantime, I have the honor to inform your excellency I shall not permit a repetition of that insult, and shall retain a command on San Juan island to protect its citizens, in the name of the United States, until I receive further orders from my government.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General United States Army Commanding.

His excellency JAMES DOULGAS, C. B.,
Governor of Vancouver's Island, &c.,
Vice-Admiral of the same.

He also approved the steps taken by Captain Pickett in relation to the occupation of San Juan, and on the 7th day of August transmitted to the officer commanding the naval squadron on the Pacific coast, Governor Douglas' proclamation, and requested him to order such a naval force to Puget's sound as he could spare, for the protection of American interests. The General ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Casey to reinforce Captain Pickett with four companies, and to evacuate forts Steilacoom and Town-

send. This, of course, gave rise to further angry correspondence between the British officers and the American commander. The situation was critical, and a trifling indiscretion might have been the occasion of a war between two great nations, who were of common blood, language, and lineage. The British fleet consisted of five ships of war, carrying one hundred and sixty-seven guns, and nineteen hundred and forty men, besides which there was an extra force of six hundred sappers and miners and marines. It was not known whether the British commander would land in force or not. He could very easily have overpowered the American troops under Colonel Casey and Captain Pickett. But fortunately for the peace of both countries, so firm had been the stand taken by General Harney, and so prudent and wise were his measures, that no collision was provoked, and the matter was referred to their respective governments by the two commanders.

General Harney was not idle while things stood in this menacing attitude. He informed the Governor of Washington Territory of the state of affairs and indicated that he might possibly ask for volunteers for the public defence. He also communicated with General Clarke, commanding in California, and made such dispositions as would, in the event of hostilities, bring speedy reinforcements.

The correspondence between General Harney and Governor Douglas of Vancouver, resulted in the denial by the British authorities of any intention to outrage American citizens by arresting them and carrying them to Victoria for trial. But General Harney soon produced evidences of the fact; and in reply to the Governor's demand for the evacuation of the island of San Juan, declared his intention to maintain his forces there till he received orders from his government.

General Scott was ordered by the President to repair to Oregon, and settle the matter between the British colonial authorities and the American settlers. The result was an

amicable adjustment, and the ultimate abandonment of all British claim to the island of San Juan, and the neighboring archipelago.

General Harney remained in command of the department of Oregon until July, 1860, when he was ordered to St. Louis to take command of the Department of the West. He remained in this duty until November, 1860, when he was relieved, and awaited orders until May, 1861.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CIVIL WAR.

THE annals of mankind present but one conflict of arms surpassing in the scope and importance of its results that of the American conflict or civil war precipitated under the administration of Abraham Lincoln. That other and greater conflict was the revolution that gave to the world the American Constitution and the American nation. Possible and sublime as was that great event in history that bequeathed so much liberty to mankind, it left ungathered the seeds of disturbance and destruction in the native soil of freedom. Before the revolution of 1776 slavery was planted, was befriended and cultivated on American soil. It was the enemy of freedom, and a feud as old as the human race—a strife between freedom and slavery crossed the Atlantic and was transplanted where the Bible and the cross were proclaimed to be the supreme authority to direct the action of men in social and political society. But time demonstrated a new and peculiar problem in government to be confronted and solved. Such was the antagonism between freedom and slavery that it soon grew to be irreconcilable; and so seeing, Mr. Jefferson said that if the South were severed from the North, South Carolina and Georgia would duly transfer their jealousy from New England to Maryland and Virginia. When General Jackson suppressed nullification in South Carolina he foresaw the dangers which threatened from a disregard of the authority of the national Government. He said that nullification would rise again, in some future time, in the disguise of the slavery agitation, and so it did. But the coming contest, gigantic as it grew to be, had no

element of perpetuity, no power to create and establish enduring conditions of disunion. It was an American conflict, and all its causes and conditions were incidental and transient, and destined to pass away like the mist of the morning.

The presidential election of 1860 had elevated to the chief office of the nation Abraham Lincoln. The canvass had been one of great violence and excitement, and threats were made of secession on the part of the slave-holding States from the Union. The people of those States who dominated public sentiment professed to regard Mr. Lincoln's election, on an anti-slavery platform, hostile to the rights of the Southern States, and as such a sufficient justification for a dissolution of their relations in the family of the Union.

Although Mr. Lincoln's election did not carry with it a single pledge of hostility to slavery in the then existing States, it was another and more advanced step in the field of party discussion and contest, which had already assumed a positive and aggressive form in the struggle for freedom in Kansas, and which was transferred from that young territory, in the election of Mr. Lincoln, to the older States of the South, where it was easy to be seen that a long-threatened storm, an irrepressible conflict, was soon to culminate in a national contest.

The civil contest between the slave and free States was a great event in history, and has only been surpassed by that mighty social volcano, the French revolution. It came upon the Republic like a gathering, moving, mighty storm. It was the execution of the Will of the eternal God to dispose of, by revolution, that which man failed to dispose of by legislation. It was a conflict to eliminate slavery from our political organism. It called into the battle-field larger and better equipped armies than were ever before arrayed against each other in deadly combat. It gave a larger experience and resulted in more important consequences

than were ever before given to man in any other equal number of years. It called into public discussion the full talent of the American people; of the press and the pulpit, of the forum and of the bench, of skill and genius, of music and oratory. In its onward movement it spread social disorder, and the wealth of communities, towns, cities and States fell into decay and ruin, and laws and religions were of no avail to maintain order and piety, in a land where belligerent States had arrayed themselves against the authority of the constitution.

The civil conflict thus precipitated, differed widely from all preceding internecine struggles. For though it be true that revolutions do not go backward, it is the general rule among the people of the earth for oppression to be on the side of constituted authority. Not so in the civil conflict. Freedom was the boon of the national authority, slavery the chief corner-stone of the rebellion. Victor Hugo had called American slavery the greatest moral deformity of the nineteenth century.

At the approach of this unusual conflict—for it was at variance in its essential character with any other conflict of arms known to history—strong men and brave women, without regard to education, station, or place of birth, took sides in the issue according to the circumstances and surroundings at the hour of peril, yielding in the main, however, to the side on which education, party politics and religion had overshadowed and disregarded patriotism.

At the breaking out of the civil conflict the army of the United States was more limited in numbers than any other class of professional men. It seemed that the nation had almost learned to live without the use of soldiers, and whatever scattered remnants there were upon the frontier or the coast parts of the country, they too, in common with the entire people in every rank of life, took sides in the great struggle, accordingly as influence of one kind or another directed their action.

Generals of various official ranks espoused the cause of the South, as against the Government, which they saw fit to call the North. General Harney had just returned from long and arduous duty on the Pacific coast. He was not a graduate of West Point, nor in any wise a politician. He had been taught by Jackson that both the citizen and the soldier must be patriotic. The struggle came on like a mighty storm, but General Harney, who had confronted the enemies of his country on unnumbered battle-fields, was not to be deterred and driven from his country's flag in the midst of peril to the Union. He was a soldier of the Republic.

On returning from the Pacific coast he was placed in command at St. Louis. He visited Washington before the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, and was ordered to report to the President twice a day to consult with him upon the affairs of the country. He advised Mr. Buchanan to fortify the seaboard upon the Southern coast; but notwithstanding President Buchanan constantly sought the counsel of General Harney, he as often ignored it because of the advice and influence of John B. Floyd, his Secretary of War.

Ascertaining the counteracting influence of Floyd upon Buchanan, Harney returned to St. Louis and assumed command. Mr. Lincoln was soon inaugurated, and new relations and duties presented themselves for every citizen, as well as every soldier of the Government. The strife of many years of bitter partisan discussion, and a conflict of interests, had engendered a bitter feeling of antagonism between the people of the South and the North. General Harney had been bred in the camp and on duty to the profession of arms. He took no part in politics or civil strife. He had learned by the observations of a life-time many of the arts of the politicians and the plotters for power, but he had always held himself aloof from intrigue, and in official duty acted alone the part of the soldier. The

approach of the civil war compelled him to confront new problems in official life. St. Louis was his home; here he had married and gathered around him a large circle of friends and relatives, composed of wealthy and influential citizens; these, in the main, were sympathizers with the South, and many of them participants in the rebellion. This circumstance of domestic and social life was unjustly interpreted as unfavorable to the official position of General Harney, and, coupled with the fact that most of the leading men who sprang like magic into power on the side of the Government, had no personal acquaintance with him, contributed to prejudice many good people against him. General Harney had seen the work of politicians in Kansas, and he would not yield to their solicitations to step outside of his duty as a soldier to serve them. He saw the same elements at work in St. Louis at the breaking out of the civil war that he had seen in Kansas, and he only knew the soldier's duty to be that of a preserver of the peace. In this capacity General Harney felt himself master of the situation. He felt that he had learned from the experience of many battle-fields how to measure the strength of his enemy, and that he could determine the measure of his own ability to assert his own authority.

It is not the purpose of this volume to present a detailed account of the military operations, or of the acts of men in St. Louis during the time that General Harney was in command of the Department of the West, but only so far as to fully present and vindicate three important and prominent facts:

I. That General Harney was a loyal and devoted soldier, inflexibly attached to the Union and the supremacy of the constitution; and

II. That his removal from the command of the Department of the West was not brought about because of a doubt of his loyalty, but

III. Because he was in command, and at one of the most important points on the continent, and was in the way of schemers and intriguing plotters for plunder and power.

To demonstrate these things in the defence of a great soldier, a man who was a pillar in the national life, and to vindicate his honor, his patriotism, and his great name, shall be the extent of the presentation of military affairs in St. Louis during the spring and summer of 1861.

The elements of civil war were rapidly organizing, with full intent on the part of the general Government and those who had determined to resist its authority, to make a gigantic struggle. On the 11th day of April, 1861, General Harney issued the following order in reference to the disposition of troops:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, April 11, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, directing that six companies of artillery, three from Fort Ridgely and three from Fort Randall, rapair to the city of New York.

The order for the movement from Fort Randall has been sent by telegraph to Council Bluffs, to be forwarded thence by special messenger. The steamer "Omaha" has been chartered by the assistant quartermaster here to convey the troops from Fort Randall to Saint Joseph, the terminus of the railroad. The "Omaha" is now at Saint Joseph and instructions have been sent to that point by telegraph for her to leave for Fort Randall without delay.

The orders for the movements from Forts Ridgely, Ripley, and Ambercrombie were transmitted by telegraph to Saint Paul, to be forwarded thence by special messenger to the several posts concerned; but since they were issued I have received a copy of your despatch of the 6th instant to Major Morris, commanding at Fort Ridgely, requiring him to proceed at once with his command, save a small detachment, to the city of New York, instead of waiting to be relieved by a company of the 2d infantry, as at first directed.

I have, therefore, recalled, by telegraph, my own order to Major Morris.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

Affairs in St. Louis were now assuming a more active character, and General Harney asked instructions from Washington in reference to the management of the troops at the arsenal.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, April 16, 1861.

SIR: In the present state of affairs in this quarter I deem it to be my duty to make a special report with reference to the St. Louis arsenal.

The arsenal buildings and grounds are completely commanded by hills immediately in their rear, and within easy range. I learn from sources which I consider reliable that it is the intention of the executive of this State to cause batteries to be erected on these hills, and also upon the island opposite to the arsenal.

I am further informed that should such batteries be erected it is contemplated by the State authorities, in the event of the secession of the State from the Union, to demand the surrender of the arsenal.

The command at the arsenal at this time consists of nine officers and about four hundred and thirty enlisted men, made up of a detachment of ordnance, Captain Totten's company of the 2d artillery, Captain Lyon's company of the 2d infantry and 4th artillery, and general service recruits.

While this force would probably be able to resist successfully an assaulting party, unless greatly superior to itself in numbers, it could not withstand the fire of batteries situated as above indicated.

Under these circumstances, I respectfully request instructions for my guidance.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

On the 20th of April, General Harney again referred the affairs of the arsenal to the Adjutant General at Washington, urging his immediate attention to the matter of securing an officer of rank for the command. He also telegraphed to the same purpose on the same day. The dispatches are as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, April 20, 1861.

SIR: I deem it of the highest importance to the public interests that an officer of rank should be forthwith assigned to the command of the troops at the St. Louis arsenal, and to the charge of the defences at that place. In making this recommendation, I take pleasure in bearing testimony to the zeal and fidelity which have been displayed by the present commander, Captain N. Lyon, 2d infantry. There are reasons, however, which, in my judgment, render it expedient that the change in the command I have suggested should be made without delay.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

Military affairs by this time were growing more complicated, and it was evident that however loyal the friends of the Government were, rival elements began to show themselves, and General Harney left for Washington in obedience to orders from the Secretary of War, on the 23d day of April, 1861.

On his way to Washington, he was captured at Harper's Ferry, by the Confederates, on the 25th of April, 1861. The train was stopped at Harper's Ferry, and after some delay General Harney asked an officer or employe on the train, what caused the great delay. The man answered, "General, I do not know, but I heard your name mentioned frequently." "Ah," said the General. Soon a young pedantic officer entered the car and approaching General Harney, said, "General, you are my prisoner." He had no sooner declared his authority, than General Harney seized him and with the declaration of "God damn your soul, get out of here!" brought him to the floor of the car, and soon convinced the young and officious stripling that he, General Harney, was master. Soon after this first onset, several officers came into the car and expressed to General Harney their regret for the officiousness of the young man, but told the General he must consider himself a prisoner. The General answered that he could not alone fight an army, and yielded. The bluff old soldier, who had been victor on many battle-fields, felt humiliated when compelled to yield to forces against which he had no contract to contend. Made the first prisoner of the war, he was taken to Richmond, where he met those in high authority on the Confederate side; many of whom were old acquaintances. Mrs. Governor Letcher met him as an old and admired friend and implored him to join with the South in the great conflict; but the General, while deeply impressed with a sense of high regard at the friendship born of earlier and happier days, stood unshaken in his expressions of devotion to the flag of the Union. Governor Letcher met him as an old friend, and told him that his arrest at Harper's Ferry was a blunder made by an incompetent officer.

The General had not been long in Richmond before he was released, and departed for Washington. His fraternal associations at Richmond were of the most pleasant character, bringing back green spots in memory's waste, the

happy recollections of by-gone years. In a public way his associations were sad and full of regret. Early on his arrival he met General Robert E. Lee, the hope and the stay of the rebellion. On meeting General Lee, General Harney said:

"General, I am sorry to meet you in this way."

General Lee answered:

"General Harney, I had no idea of taking any part in this matter; I wanted to stay at Arlington and raise potatoes for my family, but my friends forced me into it."

Sad enough, sad enough! two great war chiefs, born and reared and sheltered under the same flag, meet at the opening of a great crisis, a great conflict, one poised in self-conscious majesty, because unshaken in his devotion to the flag he had carried to victory on so many battle-fields, the other sad and shaken in his manhood for espousing a cause that was not vindicated by his highest judgment.

General Joseph E. Johnston also met General Harney at Richmond, and told him that he was opposed to the rebellion, but said that all his relatives lived in Virginia, and that they would execrate him if he did not join the cause of rebellion, and that he was forced to take the side he did.

Here we have the testimony and expressions of regret from two military men of high rank, of great mental capacity and personal worth, along side of whom is placed in contrast the name and character of General Harney. On one side is maintained a lofty character and an unquestioned patriotism; on the other side are the expressions of fallen hopes and a lost cause.

On his way from Richmond to Washington General Harney met with one constant ovation. At every station the people crowded to see the war chief of the West. He was reluctant to respond to any demonstration in favor of his distinction. On one occasion the people would not allow the train to leave the depot until General Harney made some response to their demonstration; he was therefore

urged to put his head out of the car window and express some token of regard to his anxious admirers, and this he did with reluctance. The people were devoted to him, they knew his greatness and his honor. He only knew his duty and his devotion to the flag of his country.

On the 29th of April, General Williams notified Adjutant General Thomas, at Washington, of the departure of General Harney for Washington:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, April 29, 1861.

SIR: In the absence of a department commander, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, this morning, of your letter of the 21st instant to Brigadier-General Harney, relieving that officer from the command of the Department of the West, and stating that the command will devolve upon the senior officer in the department.

General Harney left this city for Washington, April 23, under the operation of your telegraphic despatch of April 21.

Colonel E. B. Alexander, 10th infantry, stationed at Fort Laramie, is now the senior officer in the Department of the West. I have to-day sent a despatch to him, (by telegraph as far as Fort Kearney), advising him that the command of the department devolves upon him.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. WILLIAMS,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Colonel L. THOMAS,
Adjutant General of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

This was the commencement of a succession of acts designed to result in the final removal of General Harney from the command of the Department of the West. On the 10th of April, and before the return of General Harney from Washington, Camp Jackson was taken, the official correspondence between General Lyon and General D. M. Frost being as given below:

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS,
St. Louis, May 10, 1861.

SIR: Your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the government of the United States. It is for the most part made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the general government, and have been plotting the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority.

You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States, and you are receiving at your camp from the said Confederacy, under its flag, large supplies of material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States.

These extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other than the well-known purpose of the governor of this State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the general government and co-operating with the enemies.

In view of these considerations, and your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the eminent necessity of State policy and welfare, and obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand, of you an immediate surrender of your command, with no other conditions than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one half-hour's time before doing so will be allowed for your compliance therewith.

N. LYON,
Capt. 2d Infantry, Commanding Troops.

General D. M. FROST.

General Frost, being in no condition to withstand an attack by the troops under Captain Lyon, yielded to the demand of the latter and surrendered his forces. The following letter from General Frost to General Harney explains what followed:

ST. LOUIS ARSENAL, *Missouri, May 11, 1861.*

SIR: In accordance with the laws of the State of Missouri, which have been existing for some years, and in obedience to the orders of the governor, on Monday last I entered into an encampment with the militia force of St. Louis county for the purpose of instructing the same in accordance with the laws of the United States and of this State.

Every officer and soldier in my command had taken with uplifted hand the following oath, to-wit:

"You each and every one of you do solemnly swear that you will honestly and faithfully serve the State of Missouri against all enemies, and that you will do your utmost to sustain the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State, against all violence of whatsoever kind or description; and you do further swear that you will well and truly execute and obey the legal orders of all officers properly placed over you whilst on duty. So help you God."

Whilst in the peaceable performance of the duties devolved upon me and my command under these laws, my encampment was yesterday surrounded by an overwhelming force of armed men acting under the command of Captain N. Lyon, 2d infantry, United States army, and called upon by him, through a written communication, marked "A," accompanying this. To which communication I replied in the following terms, to-wit:

CAMP JACKSON, *Missouri, May 10, 1861.*

SIR: I never for a moment having conceived the idea that so illegal and unconstitutional a demand as I have just received from you would be made by an officer of the United States army, I am wholly unprepared to defend my command from this unwarranted attack, and shall therefore be forced to comply with your demand.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Brigadier-General D. M. FROST,
Commanding Camp Jackson, M. M.

Captain N. LYON,
Commanding United States Troops.

My command was, in accordance with the above, deprived

of their arms and surrendered into the hands of Captain Lyon. After which, whilst thus disarmed and surrounded, a fire was opened upon a portion of it by his troops and a number of my men put to death, together with several innocent lookers on, men, women, and children.

My command was then marched as prisoners of war in triumph to thisplace.

I am now informed, as I was at the time of the surrender, by the captain, that my command may be released upon the officers and men giving their parole "not to take up arms or to serve in a military capacity against the United States during the present civil war."

Against the whole proceeding of Captain Lyon, as well as against the terms of release, I most earnestly protest, for the following reasons:

That in addition to the obligations of loyalty which rest upon every citizen, every man of my command now held as a prisoner has voluntarily taken an oath to sustain the Constitution and laws of the United States.

That when my camp was attacked in this unaccountable manner, and during the previous days of its existence, the only flags that floated there were those of the United States with *all* the stars, and its fellow bearing the coat of arms of the State of Missouri.

That, in addition to all this, on the morning before this attack was made, I addressed to Captain Lyon a communication informing him of the proffer of services I had personally made of myself and of my command, and if necessary, the whole power of the State of Missouri, to protect the United States property, and assuring him that I had in no respect changed those views or opinions either of my own relations or through any orders emanating from my constitutional commander.

Under all these circumstances, I appeal to you, as the chief representative of the United States in this department, for justice on behalf of those loyal citizens who are now held as prisoners of war, captured under and marched to their place of confinement with the flag of the Union flying over their heads. I ask that you will not put upon the command the additional indignity of requiring us to give our parole when we have already given our oath in

support of the Constitution, but that you will order our restoration to the liberties of which we have illegally been deprived, as well as of the property of the State and individuals also, as the larger portion of the equipments have been purchased with the private funds of the individuals of my command, both officers and men.

I trust that such as have been so purchased will, at least, be restored to the proper owners.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. M. FROST,
Brigadier General, Missouri Volunteer Militia.

General WM. S. HARNEY,
Commanding the Department of the West,
United States Army.

The political excitement began to intensify, and people everywhere began to procure private arms for any emergency.

On the 10th of May, 1861, it was announced in the city papers that General Harney had been reappointed to the command of the Department of the West, and on the succeeding day, the 11th, he arrived in St. Louis, from Washington, and reassumed command.

On taking command, General Harney reported to the Department at Washington as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, May 13, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to report, for the information of the general-in-chief, that, in obedience to the instructions of the Hon. Secretary of War, communicated through the adjutant general of the army, I resumed command of the Department of the West the 11th instant.

On my arrival at Saint Louis I found very great excitement prevailing throughout the community in consequence of the capture, on the 10th instant, of the brigade of Missouri militia, under the command of Brigadier General D. M. Frost, while in camp near this city, by the United States forces, under the command of Captain N. Lyon, 2d infantry. I am informed that a detailed report of that

affair was forwarded previous to my resuming command of the department, but I deem it proper to state that the conduct of Captain Lyon on the occasion meets with my entire approval.

As serious apprehensions were entertained yesterday morning that the excitement existing in the city would result in an outbreak in the course of a few hours unless allayed, I deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, of which the enclosed is a copy, and which I am assured was well received, and had the effect to tranquilize the public mind.

I also ordered up from the arsenal some two hundred and fifty regular troops, with four pieces of artillery, to aid the civil authorities in the preservation of the public peace.

I am happy to add that all indications of the threatened disturbance have disappeared.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters
of the Army, Washington, D. C

On Sunday, June 12th, after the arrival of General Harney from Washington, intense feeling pervaded the city. The capture of Camp Jackson stimulated the friends of the Union and the friends of the so-called Southern Confederacy to a high state of excitement. The long and boastful spirit of self-constituted aristocracy, founded upon slavery, felt that it was called upon to humiliate itself by having to confront the democratic spirit founded upon free labor.

General Harney, full of the spirit of manhood, and believing, from his youth up, that slavery was wrong, and had often so expressed himself in the army, only to be resented with vindictive retorts, was not the man to step to the front in its defence when the nation was assaulted.

But he felt that he had the power to keep peace in St. Louis and the State of Missouri. He believed that the

people wanted peace and safety more than war, and he at once issued the following

PROCLAMATION:

MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, May 14, 1861.

To the people of the State of Missouri:

On my return to the duties of the command of this department, I find, greatly to my astonishment and mortification, a most extraordinary state of things existing in this State, deeply affecting the stability of the government of the United States, as well as the government and other interests of Missouri itself.

As a citizen of Missouri, owing allegiance to the United States, and having interests in common with you, I feel it my duty, as well as privilege, to extend a warning voice to my fellow-citizens against the common dangers that threaten us, and to appeal to your patriotism and sense of justice to exert all your moral powers to avert them.

It is with regret that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the general assembly of Missouri, known as the military bill, which is the result, no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind.

This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. To this extent it is a nullity, and cannot, and ought not, to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri. There are obligations and duties resting upon the people of Missouri under the constitution and laws of the United States which are paramount, and which, I trust, you will carefully consider and weigh well before you will allow yourselves to be carried out of the Union, under the form of yielding obedience to this military bill, which is clearly in violation of your duties as citizens of the United States.

It must be apparent to every one who has taken a proper and unbiased view of the subject, that whatever may be the termination of the unfortunate condition of things in

respect to the so-called "Cotton States," Missouri must share the destiny of the Union. Her geographical position, her soil, productions, and, in short, all her material interests, point to this result. We cannot shut our eyes against this controlling fact. It is seen, and its force is felt throughout the nation.

So important is this regarded to the great interests of the country, that I venture to express the opinion that the whole power of the government of the United States, if necessary, will be exerted to maintain Missouri in her present position in the Union. I express to you, in all frankness and sincerity, my own deliberate convictions, without assuming to speak for the government of the United States, whose authority, here and elsewhere, I shall at all times, and under all circumstances, endeavor faithfully to uphold.

I desire above all things most earnestly to invite my fellow-citizens dispassionately to consider their true interests as well as their true relation to the government under which we live and to which we owe so much.

In this connection, I desire to direct attention to one subject which no doubt will be made the pretext for more or less popular excitement. I allude to the recent transactions at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis. It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct of my predecessor in command of this department, but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of *Davis*, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; and that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked marble.

Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty, the people can draw their own inferences, and it cannot be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that en-

campment. No government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations.

It is but simple justice, however, that I should state the fact that there were many good and loyal men in the camp who were in no manner responsible for its treasonable character.

Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way with the prerogatives of the State of Missouri, or with the functions of its executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain path of duty to express to the people in respectful, but at the same time decided language, that within the field and scope of my command and authority the "*supreme law*" of the land must and shall be maintained, and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or suppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind, and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organizations or otherwise.

WILLIAM S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General United States Army, Commanding.

General Harney's proclamation was received with general satisfaction by all good people, and it gave assurance of the reign of peace and the protection of life. The better people far more desired this state of things than to encourage hate, revenge and bloody strife, and they saw in Harney a firm, resolute and protecting power.

The subject of slavery everywhere lurked in the thoughts and discussions of men, and the following correspondence took place between Colonel T. T. Gantt and General Harney relative thereto:

SIR: In common with thousands who have perused your admirable proclamation of this morning, I return you the thanks of a citizen of Missouri for its patriotic tone and tranquillizing assurances.

There is nothing in this paper which, in my opinion, needs explanation; yet I wish to be able to answer, with the author-

ity of your name, a question which I have already replied to on my own judgment. Last evening, a gentleman of the highest respectability and intelligence, from Green county, Missouri, asked me whether I supposed it was the intention of the United States government to interfere with the institution of negro slavery in Missouri or any slave State, or impair the security of that description of property. Of course, my answer was most unqualifiedly and almost indignantly in the negative. I told him that I had no means of forming an opinion which was not open to every private citizen; but that I felt certain that the force of the United States would, if necessary, be exerted for the protection of this, as well as any other kind of property. Will you be good enough to spare from your engrossing military duties so much time as may be required to say whether I answered correctly?

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS T. GANTT.

General Wm. S. Harney,
Commanding the Military Department
of the West, St. Louis, Missouri.

May 14, 1861.

Sir: I have just received your note of this date, inquiring whether, in my opinion, you were correct in replying to a citizen of southwestern Missouri as to the purpose of the United States government respecting the protection of negro property.

I must premise by saying that I have no special instructions from the War Department. But I should as soon expect to hear that the orders of the government were directed towards the overthrow of any other kind of property as of this in negro slaves. I entertain no doubt whatever that you answered the question you mention correctly. I should certainly have answered it in the same manner, and, I think, with the very feelings you describe. I am not a little astonished that such a question could be seriously put. Already, since the commencement of these unhappy disturbances, slaves have escaped from their owners and sought refuge in the camps of the United

States troops from Northern States, and commanded by a Northern General. They were carefully sent back to their owners. An insurrection of slaves was reported to have taken place in Maryland. A Northern General offered to the executive of that State the aid of Northern troops under his own command, to suppress it. Incendiaries have asked of the President permission to invade the Southern States and have been warned that any attempt to do this will be punished as a crime. I repeat it, I have no special means of knowledge on this subject, but what I have cited, and my general acquaintance with the statesman-like views of the President makes me confident in expressing the opinion above given.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,

Commanding Military Department of the West

THOMAS T. GANTT,

St. Louis, Missouri.

General Harney had from the beginning taken the ground that there was no necessity for firing a single gun in Missouri, and he was determined that none should be fired until the necessity did exist. His splendid reputation as a soldier, his known firmness, and his stainless honor, were sufficient pledges that peace and order would be preserved. On the 14th he issued his proclamation announcing his resumption of the command, and his intention to maintain the peace.

Unfortunately there were plenty of turbulent spirits to whom peace was by no means pleasing. Either their occupation was discord or they hoped to gain an occupation by fomenting strife. Then again, of the two political parties, each furiously exasperated, each was anxious to be protected, and yet wished that protection coupled with freedom to harass and oppress the other.

General Harney was the very man for the emergency. He gave protection, indiscriminately, to all, and at the same time curbed the spirit of license that was in danger of

becoming prevalent. He had no reputation as a fighter to make; that reputation was too well established on uncounted fields to lead him to look for laurels where they might rather be left ungathered.

The intelligent and the prudent gave him their support, when a cabal, whose plans he interrupted, sought to move him from their path through the exercise of influence at Washington. Messrs. James E. Yeatman and Hamilton R. Gamble, as a delegation representing those citizens most entitled to respect, went on to Washington to represent to the President, and those by whom he was advised, that General Harney was proceeding to the true solution of one of the most difficult problems of the day.

On the 14th of May, General Harney's celebrated proclamation was promulgated, breathing the spirit of peace, yet full of a determination to conquer a peace if other means proved unavailing.

The capture of Captain Emmet Macdonald, at Camp Jackson, led to some legal proceedings in the United States Court. Macdonald sought release from imprisonment by a writ of *habeas corpus*. The action of General Harney in the matter was prompt and decisive, as his communications to the War Department show:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, May 18, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to report that on the 14th instant a writ of "habeas corpus" was served on me, requiring me to bring before Judge Treat, judge of the United States court, eastern district of Missouri, Captain Emmet Macdonald, one of the officers captured at Camp Jackson, near this city, May 10, by the United States forces, under the command of Captain N. Lyon, 2d infantry. Captain Macdonald declined to give his parole, and has therefore been detained as a prisoner of war. He was transferred, on the 13th instant, to the custody of the officer in command of the Illinois troops at Caseyville, Illinois, some ten miles from St. Louis. I transmit herewith a copy of my answer

to the writ of *habeas corpus*. The case has been postponed until Monday next, when it will come up before the United States court at its regular session.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieut. Col. E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

ST. LOUIS, May, 15, 1861.

To Hon. Judge Treat, Judge of United States Court, Eastern District:

In response to the writ of *habeas corpus*, yesterday served on me, commanding me to bring before his honor one Emmet Macdonald, I have to say that Mr. Macdonald, the person described in the writ, is not imprisoned or kept in confinement by me, nor is he under my control or command, nor has he been imprisoned or confined, or so under my control or command at or since the issuing of this writ.

In making this return to the writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by you commanding me to produce the body of Emmet Macdonald, and in making my response to the same, I avail myself of the opportunity thus presented to express my profound regret of the state of things existing in this community. I declare my wish to sustain the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Missouri; but while making this declaration I find myself in such a position that in deciding upon a particular case I must take what I am compelled to regard as the higher law, even if by so doing my conduct shall have the appearance of coming in conflict with the forms of law. With respect to the transaction which took place at Camp Jackson, near this city, on the 10th instant, I have to say that it happened prior to my arrival here, and before my assumption of the command of this Department. While I am not, therefore, responsible for the proceedings at that camp, and under ordinary circumstances should not feel at liberty to comment upon them officially, I am not disposed, in the existing state of things, to shrink from the responsibility

of acknowledging that my predecessor in command saw in the proclamation of the President of the United States, ordering the dispersion of all armed rebels hostile to the United States, as described in the proclamation, a high and imperative duty imposed upon him with respect to the camp in question, the evidences of its treasonable purposes having been, to his mind, indisputably clear. His action in the premises I recognize, therefore, as imposing upon me the obligation of assuming the consequences of his proceedings so far as to abstain from pursuing any course which, by implication, might throw a doubt upon the sufficiency of his authority. Upon looking into the circumstances attending the detention of Emmet Macdonald, I find they are such, if I had him in charge, that I could not give orders that might set him at large, unless some sufficient evidence should be furnished that he was not of the number of those in Camp Jackson who gave to that camp its character, by which it came under the class of disaffected men hostile to the government of the United States, according to the terms of the proclamation referred to.

For this purpose nothing has been required of those persons but a simple pledge of parole of honor. The whole subject will be referred by me to the government of the United States, whose instructions to me at the critical time are paramount.

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General United States Army, Commanding.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of May, 1861.

JOSHUA W. BOURNE,
Notary Public.

Meanwhile, General Harney addressed himself to the task of pacification, and one week later an agreement, which was no compromise on his part and no abatement of what the Government had a right to expect, was entered into between him and General Sterling Price, and formally published on the 21st of May:

ST. LOUIS, MAY 21, 1861.

The undersigned, officers of the United States Government and of the Government of the State of Missouri, for the purpose of removing misapprehension and of allaying public excitement, deem it proper to declare publicly that they have this day had a personal interview in this city, in which it has been mutually understood, without the semblance of dissent on either part, that each of them has no other than a common object, equally interesting and important to every citizen of Missouri—that of restoring peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the General and State Governments.

It being thus understood, there seems no reason why every citizen should not confide in the proper officers of the General and State Governments to restore quiet, and, as among the best means of offering no counter-influences, we mutually recommend to all persons to respect each others' rights throughout the State, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized powers, as it is the determination of the proper authorities to suppress all unlawful proceedings which can only disturb the public peace. General Price having, by commission, full authority over the militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes with the sanction of the Governor of the State, already declared, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintaining order within the State among the people thereof. General Harney publicly declares that this object being assured, he can have no occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements that might otherwise create excitement and jealousy, which he most earnestly desires to avoid.

We, the undersigned, do therefore mutually enjoin upon the people of the State to attend to their civil business, of whatsoever sort it may be, and it is hoped that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace, may soon subside and be remembered only to be deplored.

W. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General Commanding.
STERLING PRICE,
Major-General Missouri State Guard.

This agreement between Harney and Price gave promise

of quiet to the people, and did so for a time, and until the wave of revolution had grown beyond local control.

On the 29th of May General Harney wrote to the Department at Washington and expressed himself highly satisfied that the agreement between himself and General Price was maintaining the peace of the State and building up loyalty in every part thereof:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST,
St. Louis, Missouri, May 29, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to report that by the course pursued in this State, under the instructions from the War Department, Missouri is rapidly becoming tranquilized, and I am convinced that by pursuing the course I have thus far, which is fully indicated in my former communications to you, peace and confidence in the ability of the government to maintain its authority will be fully and permanently restored.

Interference by unauthorized parties as to the course I shall pursue can alone prevent the realization of these hopes; and although the policy they might inaugurate might be more brilliant, in a military point of view, and far more expensive to carry out, it could not secure the results the government seek, viz: the maintenance of the loyalty now fully aroused in the State, and her firm security in the Union.

I entertain the conviction that the agreement between myself and General Price will be carried out in good faith, but while entertaining this belief, I shall watch, carefully, the movements of the State authorities. I have reliable means of obtaining information of their movements, and any violation of their pledge, and any attempt at rebellion, will be promptly met and put down.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. S. HARNEY,
Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

This letter was sent the day before his removal.

Those who were anxious for war in Missouri saw their

opportunity slipping away from them. Harmony was being restored, and the parties to the covenant might well hope for the happiest effects. Yet the opposition side held the winning card, and were only waiting for the time to make the play effective.

In presenting the history of these troubled times, many letters were produced from different parts of the State which spoke of the persecution of Union men. General Harney was convinced that many of these letters were written in St. Louis, or inspired by the cabal.

An incident which occurred at this time deepened the conviction in General Harney's mind. He received a letter from St. Joseph, stating that ex-Governor Stewart and a number of the most respectable men in St. Joseph had been driven from their homes, and that unless soldiers were soon sent, they (the Union men) would all have to leave. General Harney called upon Colonel Blair with the open letter, and asked him if he knew the writer. Blair merely glanced at it without reading, and replied:

"Oh, yes, he is perfectly reliable. You can believe anything he says."

"Then," replied Harney, "I will write immediately to General Price and ask him to attend to it."

"Are you going to wait to hear from Price?" asked Blair, quickly, with a gesture of astonishment.

"Certainly," replied Harney.

Two or three days later, Harney received a copy of the St. Joseph *News*, containing a letter written by ex-Governor Stewart, and a marked paragraph stated in substance: "Neither I nor any other Union man has been driven out of St. Joe."

The cry of "persecution" was still kept up, and one day Harney significantly asked Blair how one man could successfully persecute two? It was well known that the Union men throughout the State were in a strong majority —at the very least, two to one.

But the long-standing determination to get General Harney out of the way of aspiring persons, was still the source of much vigilance and activity. Colonel F. A. Dick was sent by his enemies to Washington to secure the removal of General Harney, and his labors in that direction are affirmed by his own letters, bearing date and evidence as herewith presented:

WASHINGTON CITY, May 16, 1861.

DEAR BEN.—I made all haste to get here, and arrived at ten this morning, turning off at Harrisburg, leaving my family to go on to Philadelphia alone. * * * * * *

I went at once to see Judge Blair, and told him of our affairs. He took his hat and went straight with me to see General Cameron. He was at the President's. We went there and found Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Bates, Mr. Smith (Secretary of the Interior), and General Cameron. I was introduced, and told my story straight on. * * * * * * * * I would at once have got all I wanted, but for Judge Bates. He had seen Yeatman and Hamilton Gamble, they had told him their story, and Bates asked Mr. Lincoln not to decide upon action until he had heard those gentlemen. While I was talking, Judge Blair wrote out a memorandum for an order removing Harney and appointing Lyon Brigadier-General, and presented it to the President for his signature. He would have signed it but for said request of Bates. I went over to Bates and privately remonstrated with him, but could not change his purpose. Lincoln wrote a note over to General Scott, asking his opinion upon the propositions contained in Judge Blair's memorandum, and sent it by his private secretary, asking an immediate answer. Judge Blair and I then went to Cameron's office. I found him impressed with the idea that Lyon is a rash man, and not at all impressed with his real worth and ability. I found such an impression also on Judge Bates' mind; but I removed it from Cameron's mind, and gave him a correct idea of Captain Lyon's ability and worth.

General Cameron agreed that he should have leave of absence granted him, and be commissioned as a Brigadier-

General of the four regiments which had elected him. We then left Cameron's office, and Judge Blair hurried off to see General Scott about the matter mentioned in the President's note. Thus the matter stands at the time of my writing this letter. But for Bates and General Scott I would have had things fixed exactly right; if they do not come out as we want them, you will, from what I have said, understand them.

But I believe that Harney will be ordered away again. I am sorry, sorry enough, that when he was here that Frank did not write about him. Frank does not write often enough. My impressions are that the Cabinet is made up of too old men. It seems to lack vigor, promptitude, and resolution. * * * * * *

Captain Lyon's achievement in taking the camp of the traitors has given great satisfaction in the East, and mainly for that reason, so far as I can judge, is approved by the President. Perhaps I do him injustice. Judge Blair has turned in, in earnest, to get the measures I came on for carried out, and I shall stick to the work until I accomplish a result, and I am in strong hopes now of achieving the precise results I came for.

Yours sincerely,

F. A. DICK.

To Ben. Farrar, St. Louis.

Washington, May 16, 1861.

Dear Ben.—Since writing you this noon I take the subject up where that letter left it off. Judge Blair went with me to the office of L. Thomas, Adjutant-General, where we procured the enclosed order to General Harney. I enclose it to you that you may give it to Frank or General Lyon, and have it delivered to General Harney at such time as they may see fit. * * * Next, Captain Lyon is appointed Brigadier-General of the Missouri Brigade, but the commission will not issue until to-morrow. * * * * * * * * * * *

I take the credit to Frank, and my efforts here, for this; and no man more deserves the advancement than General Lyon. It was a labor of satisfaction to me. * * * * General Lyon stands in high position with the administra-

tion for his achievement. It is felt he has brought honor upon the Government by it; and the howling of the traitors is correctly appreciated here. The result is, the President and Cabinet fully indorse his conduct and appoint him a Brigadier-General, and effectually remove Harney out of his way. He must go ahead now and win new laurels. The capture of Claib Jackson will be regarded with great favor by the administration. * * * * *

Yours truly,

F. A. DICK.

BENJ. FARRAR, Esq., St. Louis.

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1861.

DEAR BEN.—Since telegraphing you I would start, I find Mr. Davisson going straight to St. Louis, who carries the inclosed papers. The letter to General Harney, from M. Blair, is, of course, not to be delivered to him unless the command is taken away from him. Mr. Davisson is appointed Consul to Bordeaux. He knows the importance of the immediate delivery of these papers, and promises to deliver them to you with all dispatch. Judge Blair and his father, also General Cameron, think it unnecessary to use the paper on Harney. General Cameron fully approves the discretionary power to Colonel F. P. Blair, Jr., as to displacing Harney.

The papers sent herewith by Mr. Davisson are:

First—Duplicate of the order mailed you last night.

Second—Commission for General Lyon as Brigadier-General.

Third—Letters from Montgomery Blair.

Tell General Lyon he is commissioned as one of the regular Brigadier-Generals through the war and not merely for three months. This is certain; I have it from both General Thomas and General Cameron, who hesitated some time on it, but at last yielded, and thus issued the enclosed commission. Yours,

F. A. DICK.

To BEN. FARRAR, St. Louis.

BEN. FARRAR, Esq., or Colonel FRANK P. BLAIR, Jr.

DEAR SIR—The inclosed dispatches are, first, a commission for Lyon; second a leave of absence for Harney.

I have had great difficulty in accomplishing these results. The Secretary of War was against both. As to Lyon, the rule of granting leave of absence to officers of the army was the chief difficulty. As to Harney, his *public* course, viewed from this point, seems reasonable enough, and the leave of absence goes to Frank (Blair), to be delivered to Harney only, if in his judgment it is now decided advisable to relieve him from command. I think it possible that, if Harney had about him some resolute, sensible men, he would be all right all the time. It is only because he falls into the hands of our opponents that he is dangerous; his intention being good, but his judgment being weak.

This, however, must be left to Frank; and as the danger is remote, I do not feel that it is right to keep Harney in command, without the full approbation of those immediately concerned. It is better to mortify him than to endanger the lives of many men, and the position of Missouri in the present conflict.

Yours truly, M. BLAIR.

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1861.

On the 17th of May, 1861, Colonel Dick again writes to a friend in St. Louis in reference to the removal of General Harney. Montgomery Blair also writes to the same party on the same subject. In addition to the correspondence of Colonol Dick are submitted two letters from his personal friend and co-laborer for the removal of General Harney, whereby to remove a bulwark of honor, patriotism, and national strength, and open an easy way to promote the cause of securing favorite contracts and offices for personal friends. This was one of the prime and highest objects for which General Harney's removal was demanded:

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT TREASURER, U. S.
ST. LOUIS, MO., May 29, 1861.

DEAR JUDGE:

Our friends here are complaining, and, I believe, not without reason, that the Government patronage at this point is all thrown into the hands of, and for the benefit of, our enemies, the secessionists. No one doubts that our

friends among the mercantile community can, and will, sell to the Government all manner of goods on terms as favorable to the Government as any traitor, yet it seems that the disbursing officers hereabouts have a most decided preference for patronizing our enemies. This thing should not be permitted. I am anxious to see the Government administered on the most economic plan; but, to gain that object, is it necessary that our friends should be excluded, and traitors employed to subsist the army, and fatten on its profits? Yes, and probably subscribe some of those very profits to Jeff. Davis' army.

The Government purchases must always be to the advantage of somebody, and friends rather than enemies should be preferred.

Major McKinstry, the Acting Quartermaster at this place, should have a leave of absence, or some other leave.

Captain Kelton, who acts here as Commissary of Subsistence, successor to Major Waggaman, who introduced him on resigning, is known only to our enemies, on whom he is said to shower patronage, and for details I refer you to an article in "Democrat" of to-day. I learn that Saml. Simmons is an applicant for that post, made vacant by the resignation of Major Waggaman, and I regard it as a matter of the utmost importance that he should be appointed, and that it be done immediately.

Can't you have General Harney sent away from here? If he remains here much longer we shall be compelled a second time to conquer a peace in Missouri. Can't a division of the army be made for him, embracing Utah and the Indians?

Very truly yours,

BEN. FARRAR.

Hon. M. Blair, P. M. G., Washington.

This letter was addressed to Montgomery Blair the day before the writer, Ben. Farrar, in behalf of Colonel F. P. Blair, delivered to General Harney the order from the War Department, removing him from the command.

THE BLAIR FAMILY.

The removal of General Harney was not made to give

place to a more loyal man, a better soldier, or a more competent officer, but for the purpose of promoting the interests of ambition by co-operating agencies. As in Rome lived the Tarquin family, the members of which were seditious, ambitious, and intriguers for power, so in America lived the Blair family, full of ambition, love of power and the spirit of rule or ruin. Gifted with considerable ability, and constantly thirsting for power, Francis P. Blair, Sen., was brought into public notice by the friendship and aid of Henry Clay, whose reputation and abilities lifted Mr. Blair to distinction. But this was only to be achieved by him to turn and desert Mr. Clay in the hope of winning higher honors from the aid of his enemies. He sought for refuge and for higher honors in the kitchen cabinet of General Jackson, where he lost no time in plotting for profit and for power. Gifted with intense selfishness and ambition, he over-leaped the boundaries of wisdom and prudence, and Jackson, seeing the evil tendency of Blair's genius, "smote him hip and thigh" and cast him out.

It was this man that was smitten by Jackson, who was at the bottom of the intrigue inaugurated to overthrow General Harney. His sons had inherited the traits of the father, and with that cunning that is always found associated with selfish ambition, Francis P. Blair saw, as he thought, an opportunity for family distinction, and when General Fremont was placed in command of the Department of the West, Francis P. Blair, Sen., wrote from Washington to Fremont and presented to him his scheme for gaining political power. He proposed to Fremont the mode by which he could retain the command of the West, and he and one member of the Blair family control the political power of the West, while the other Blairs in Washington were to control the political power of the East, and thus control the country. But this scheme of ambition did not win.

When trouble finally arose between the Blairs and General Fremont, Mrs. Fremont called upon the President to see that her husband received justice. While in conversation with the President, and as she warmed with her subject, Blair, hitherto unnoticed in the room, remarked to Mrs. Fremont that "*We*" (the Blairs) "*make men!*" Mrs. Fremont arose and indignantly replied: "From the specimens you have turned out, you have no occasion to be proud of your progeny!"

Francis P. Blair, Jr., was also a man of great ambition. While he did much to preserve the Union, he sought to do more to promote his personal ends in the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley. But for the good he did the public records will alone be left to interpret his purposes and the mantle of charity will be flung over his grave.

Montgomery Blair, the Pisistratus of his race, the man of sedition, madness, and intrigue, still remains—a disgrace to the high place he once held in President Lincoln's cabinet. Holding a cabinet office, and stimulated by the ambition of an aspiring family, he brought into requisition every means his office afforded to remove General Harney. He saw St. Louis to be a great central point for place and power, and it was to aid in securing these for another that he sought to remove the obstructions to the achievement of such an end. General Harney was in the way. In military life he knew no politicians, no speculators. He was a bruff, overshadowing and decisive soldier. In no way could he be used by politicians seeking place and power. Therefore the entire enginery of a talented and ambitious family, who held high places, was organized against General Harney, and well did Mr. Lincoln remark at one time that he could hear but little about Missouri—it was in the hands of the Blair family.

There was a deep-rooted conspiracy leveled against General Harney. But time has vindicated Harney and confronted Montgomery Blair with his own self-imposed wreck,

which now haunts him in his declining years, and the American patriot may well point to him and with the voice of oratory tell him that "ambition, like the amruta cup of Indian fable, gives to the virtuous an immortality of glory and happiness, but to the corrupt an immortality of ruin, shame and misery."

General Scott and President Lincoln were slow to yield to the conspirators against the fame and usefulness of a warrior who had long since, from President Monroe's administration, been a noted soldier to the country. There never was any evidence, nor can there be found any to show that either President Lincoln or General Scott approved of the removal of General Harney from the command of the West.

On the other hand, it is notoriously true, though not of official record, that President Lincoln said that the removal of General Harney was one of the greatest mistakes of his administration, and that General Scott said that the removal of General Harney would cost the Government 100,000 men, and $100,000,000 of treasure.

General Hitchcock, in a letter to Judge John M. Krum, in which he reviewed the military affairs of St. Louis during the command of General Harney, approved in the highest terms of the course pursued by General Harney, and said that his removal was a great blunder.

Special order number 135, as follows, relieved General Harney from the command of the West:

I. Brigadier-General W. S. Harney is relieved from command of the Department of the West, and is granted leave of absence until further orders. By order,

L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

This order was handed to General Harney on the 30th of May, 1861.

Bearing date of May 18, 1861, is a note as follows from President Lincoln to Hon. F. P. Blair, in reference to the removal of General Harney.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1861.

Hon. F. P. BLAIR:

MY DEAR SIR—We have a good deal of anxiety here about St. Louis. I understand an order has gone from the War Department to you, to be delivered or withheld in your discretion, relieving General Harney from his command. I was not quite satisfied with the order when it was made, though on the whole I thought it best to make it; but since then I have become more doubtful of its propriety. I do not write now to countermand it, but to say I wish you would withhold it, unless in your judgment the necessity to the contrary is very urgent. There are several reasons for this. We better have him a *friend* than an *enemy*. It will dissatisfy a good many who otherwise would be quiet. More than all, we first relieve him, then restore him; and now if we relieve him again the public will ask, "Why all this vacillation?"

Still, if in your judgment it is *indispensable*, let it be so.

Yours very truly,
A. LINCOLN.

It will be seen by the reading of Mr. Lincoln's letter, that the order for General Harney's removal was issued without the knowledge of the President, and reluctantly assented to by him. Mr. Lincoln knew Harney of old and knew him to be a gallant and brave soldier, a man of high learning and a loyal patriot.

After some intervening correspondence General Harney addressed the following letter to General L. Thomas, Adjutant General of the Army, at Washington, in vindication of his honor and his loyalty to the flag of the country:

ST. LOUIS, June 5, 1861.

GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, containing instructions to put down all attempts to commit outrages on loyal citizens of Missouri. In reply to that letter I respectfully refer you to my communication of the 29th ultimo, written and mailed before the receipt of yours. I therein informed the government that I had reliable means of obtaining infor-

mation of the movements of the State authorities, and that I should promptly punish any violation of agreement and put down any attempt at rebellion.

The many complaints of individuals by letter, setting forth that acts of oppression were committed by the secessionists, have received my careful attention, and an investigation has proved the majority of them to be without foundation. As an instance of the groundlessness of these mischievous rumors, I cite the report which obtained currency, that ex-Governor Stewart and other loyal citizens had been driven from St. Joseph, and the ex-Governor promptly published an unqualified denial that such outrage was perpetrated, clearly proves that there is a disposition on the part of some parties to manufacture excitement where cause does not exist.

My confidence in the honor and integrity of General Price, in the purity of his motives, and in his loyalty to the Government, remains unimpared. His course as president of the State convention that voted by a large majority against submitting an ordinance of secession, and his efforts since that time to calm the elements of discord, have served to confirm the high opinion of him I have for many years entertained.

My whole course as commander of the Department of the West has been dictated by a desire to carry out, in good faith, the instructions of my government, regardless of the clamor of the conflicting elements surrounding me, and whose advice and dictation could not be followed without involving the State in blood and the government in the unnecessary expenditure of millions. Under the course I pursued Missouri was secured to the Union, and the triumph of the government was only the more glorious for being almost a bloodless victory. But those who clamored for blood have not ceased to impugn my motives. Twice, within a brief space of time, have I been relieved from the command here; the second time in a manner that has inflicted unmerited disgrace upon a true and loyal soldier. During a long life dedicated to my country I have seen some service, and more than once I have held her honor in my hand, and during that time my loyalty, I believe, was never questioned; and now, when in the natural course of things,

I shall, before the lapse of many years, lay aside the sword which has so long served my country, my countrymen will be slow to believe that I have chosen this portion of my career to damn with treason my life which is so soon to become a record of the past, and which I shall most willingly leave to the unbiased judgment of posterity.

I trust that I may yet be spared to do my country some further service that will testify to the love I bear her, and that the vigor of my arm may never relax while there is a blow to be struck in her defence.

I respectfully ask to be assigned to the command of the department of California, and I doubt not the present commander of that division is even now anxious to serve on the Atlantic frontier.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM S. HARNEY,

Brigadier General United States Army.

Brevet Brigadier General L. THOMAS,

Adjutant General United States Army, Washington, D. C.

The military history of General Harney, in connection with the civil war, is plain and brief. He met the gathering storm of rebellion in the simple discharge of his official duty, and as the sentinel of the nation. He had been taught in his youth by Jackson to stand by the flag of the Union; the services of a long life under that flag had made him a part of the Government, and he knew no other path of duty in which to walk than that marked out by the Constitution. His native State, Tennessee, refused by a large majority vote to throw off the authority of the Constitution, though afterwards dragged by violence into the rebellion. Harney stood at the helm when the storm of civil strife was gathering, undaunted and unawed, in the gallant discharge of his duty. Every official act of his, and every official paper issued by him was in accordance with strict military usage, and demonstrated his patriotism and readiness to serve his country in the hour of peril His long experience in the army, and his soldierly qualities'

his decisive acts and good judgment, all united in making him the soldier upon whom the Government and the people of the West could rely and confide in the hour of deepest trouble. In proof of this is submitted the following letter from General McNeil, who held an important command in Missouri at the breaking out of troubles in this State:

ST. LOUIS, February 27, 1878.

L. U. REAVIS, Esq.

DEAR SIR: Your note of 20th, with prospectus of the Life of Major-General William S. Harney, is at hand. You ask me to state "my opinion of the General as a man, a soldier and a patriot." The fame and character of this illustrious soldier have been too long and too firmly established to require any support of mine. His record is made and belongs to history, and her muse will inscribe his name high in the roll of those who have clothed the arms of their country with imperishable glory.

What I can do in the interest of your work and in the interest of "the truth of history" I cheerfully do. It is this: to briefly record my testimony in regard to a charge made in the spring of 1861 that the General was not in full and hearty accord with the Government in the support of the Union against the seceding States and all aiders and abettors of rebellion.

Immediately after the capture of Camp Jackson, and the following two days of excitement, I was in command of the volunteer garrison of the city. By request of General Harney I called upon him at his house on Fourth street. I found there Judge Krum and Colonel Rombauer. The General stated that he had invited us to call that he might explain a statement that had been made by the Mayor in a public meeting, that he had promised to disarm the "Home Guard." This promise he said had only been made in a qualified manner in consequence of the representations of many leading and influential citizens and old acquaintances —that the presence of this force within the city was the sole cause of irritation and disturbance. That, regarding himself as in command of all troops within his district, he had said to those people that if upon enquiry he should

find their statements sustained he would remove these troops to Jefferson Barracks or elsewhere outside of the city. But receipt of more recent orders from Washington had given the command of the new levies to General Lyon, so that he now had no control of them. But since he had learned more of these troops and of the officers commanding them, he would not now remove them if he could.

Further conversation convinced me that this old soldier and officer was true to his oath of office, his colors and his country, and as bitter a foe of secession and rebellion as I was.

During the interview an old brother officer of the army, one who subsequently achieved high command in the Confederate army, and who laid down his life in the service of that cause, came in. He had been captured and paroled at Camp Jackson. He said he had called to protest against the obligation of that parole and to say that he did not intend to observe it. Said Harney, "If you break that parole, sir, and I capture you in arms against the constituted authority of the United States, I'll hang you in five minutes."

I left that interview with a full conviction of the loyalty and devotion to duty of this old soldier.

I have always since regretted that the interference of politicians deprived him of confidence at Washington and remanded to private life one whose services would have been invaluable in the field.

If he could have armed, organized and commanded the Indians of the Indian Territory, such was the power of his name in Arkansas and the Southwest, that Missouri would, I am convinced, have been saved from pillage and devastation and a wedge inserted between the Confederacy and her best source of supplies, that would have materially shortened the war.

I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

JOHN McNEIL.

This letter from General McNeil may well serve as an offset to the letters of Colonel Dick, whose highest ambition seems to have been, with others, to secure the removal of General Harney, for there were those who from the

beginning plotted against his honor and his devotion to the country, which he had served so long. The record and the facts are plain, and not to be misinterpreted, that General Harney's removal from the command of the Department of the West, was the work of intrigue, stimulated by the ambition of designing men. It was done in disregard of the wishes of President Lincoln and General Scott, and no man who sought his removal has left a name or a record to compare with the shining honors and deeds of General Harney. Neither history or tombs exist to vindicate those who plotted against his fidelity and usefulness, and for his overthrow, on the other hand, the record and the honors of General Harney stand unshaken.

And while he won no honors, no victories, by shedding the blood of his own countrymen, he has builded for himself a monument of true glory in defending his country on distant battle-fields, where the heroic dead sleep

"On fame's eternal camping ground."

During the events preceding our civil war, and which marked its inception, General Harney was stationed in Missouri. If there was a local pride in the breast of the man who had felt equally at home when stationed in Maine, or when fighting in the everglades of Florida; who had borne his country's flag with distinction along every stretch of her frontier, from the head waters of our noble river to where the Rio Grande flings its waters to the Gulf; who had stood unflinchingly at the head of his dragoons when menaced by the combined cavalry of the Mexican army; and who had participated in the final triumphant entry into the city of the Montezumas—if there was a spot which, more than another, claimed his affections, it was that geographical division that bounded the home of his wife and his children. He had been engaged for nearly half a century in protecting the feeble outposts of civilization as they moved westward over an empire that had been reclaimed from barbarism. Every instinct of his nature, of his pre-

fessional teaching, and of his long experience, had taught him to look for enemies from without and not from within. He had seen Kansas pacified, in perilous times, by the exercise of firmness and moderation. He was ever ready to fight any and all enemies of the Government whose uniform he so nobly wore, but he was by no means disposed to first make enemies for the satisfaction of fighting them afterward.

He was convinced from the first that the wrangling of factions in Missouri, was caused by a political ferment that would never develop into disloyalty unless met with irresolution and a teasing, tyrannous policy. There was on each side of him a party not numerous but active, anxious to stir up dissensions and to precipitate a conflict, for real or fancied benefit to themselves. And now between the bluff old soldier and the schemers grew up differences that they were far from being disposed to reconcile. He believed their aggressive policy would be fatal; they believed, or affected to believe, that his policy was unwise.

But as to the question of his devotion to the Union and Government of "these States," there was neither variableness nor shadow of turning on the part of General Harney, as the following high-toned and statesmanlike letter to Colonel O'Fallon fully demonstrates, and which will ever remain an irrefutable record to his genius and honor:

LETTER FROM GENERAL HARNEY TO COLONEL O'FALLON.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR:—The report of my arrest at Harper's Ferry by persons assuming to act under authority of the State of Virginia, has no doubt reached you. Upon my arrival at Richmond, under military escort, Governor Letcher immediately directed my release, with assurances disavowing the act of his subordinates and expressing regret at their mistake or abuse of his authority. The kind attention and civility received from him, from the escort that accompanied me, and other distinguished citi-

zens of Virginia, and esteemed friends whom I there met, compensated for any personal trouble and annoyance, yet I cannot but feel deep mortification and regret that our country should be in a condition to expose any one to such an incident. It has furnished occasion for mistake or misrepresentation in respect to my views and sentiments, which a sense of duty requires to be promptly corrected. No better mode occurs to me than by a letter addressed to yourself as an esteemed personal friend.

It has been represented through the public press that I was a willing prisoner to the State of Virginia; that I designed to resign my commission in the United States army, throw off my allegiance to the Federal Government, and join the forces of the Confederate States.

Forty-two years I have been in the military service of the United States, and have followed, during all that time, but one flag—the flag of the Union. I have seen it protecting our frontier, and guarding our coast, from Maine to Florida. I have witnessed it in the smoke of battle, stained with the blood of gallant men leading it on to victory, planted upon the strongholds and waving over the capital of a foreign foe. My eyes have beheld that flag affording protection to our States and Territories on the Pacific, and commanding reverence and respect from hostile fleets and squadrons and from foreign governments, never exhibited to any other banner on the globe.

Twenty stars, each representing a State, have been added to that banner during my services, and under its folds I have advanced from the rank of Lieutenant to that which I now hold. The Government, whose honors have been bestowed upon me, I shall serve the remainder of my days.

The flag, whose glories I have witnessed, shall never be forsaken by me while I can strike a blow in its defense. While I have breath I shall ever be ready to serve the Government of the United States, and be its faithful and loyal soldier.

Without condemning or in any degree criticising the course other persons have deemed proper to pursue in the present juncture, my line of duty is plain to my own heart and judgment. The course of events that has led to the deplorable condition in which our country now stands, has

been watched by me with painful interest. Perceiving that many of my fellow-citizens in the Southern States were discontented with the Government, and desired some change to protect them from existing evils, my feelings have been strongly against *coercion*, and anxious for some compromise or arrangement that would restore peace and harmony. The provisions of the Federal Constitution offered, in my judgment, ample means of redress through a convention of all the States, which might adopt amendments that would reconcile all differences, or if that could not be accomplished, might provide for peaceful separation in a manner becoming friends and brethren. So long as this hope of peaceful settlement of our troubles could be indulged, I have felt it to be the wise duty of the General Government to bear with patience outrages that no other government could have endured, and to forbear any exertion of force until the last hope departed. But when the Confederate States, with seven thousand men, under cover of strong fortifications and impregnable batteries, assailed a starving garrison of seventy men in Fort Sumpter, compelled the banner of the United States to be lowered, and boasted of its dishonor before the world, the state of the question was immediately changed. Instead of the Government coercing the States demanding redress of greivances by constitutional means, the case was presented of revolutionists waging war against their Government, seeking its overthrow by force of arms, assailing public property by overwhelming force, laboring to destroy the lives of gallant officers and soldiers, and dishonoring the national flag. The question now before us is whether the Government of the United States, with its many blessings and past glories, shall be overthrown by the military dictatorship lately planted and now bearing sway in the Confederate States? My hand cannot aid that work.

Finding ourselves in a state of civil war, actually existing or fast approaching, some of my brethren-in-arms, citizens of seceding States, for whom I have the highest personal respect, have considered it their duty to throw up their commissions and follow their States. In that view of duty I cannot concur. As an officer of the army, and a citizen of the United States, I consider my primary allegi-

ance to be due to the Federal Government; and *subordinate* to that is my allegiance to the State. This, as you are aware, has been the concurring opinion of the most eminent jurists of this country. It was the judgment of the Court of Appeals of South Carolina in the case of Hunt, when the case was discussed with matchless ability. In that case the highest court of South Carolina deliberately decided that the soldier's and citizen's primary duty of allegiance is due to the United States Government, and not the government of his State. Of late it has been contended that the allegiance due by a citizen to the Federal Government was dissolved when his State secedes from the Union. Into that snare many have fallen. But in my judgment there is, and can be no such right of secession of a State by its own act. The Government of the Union can only be dissolved by the concurrence of the States that have entered into the Federal compact. The doctrine of secession is destructive to all government, and leads to universal anarchy.

But, supposing States may secede and destroy the Government whenever the fancy takes those who are strong enough to set up an arbitrary power in the State, Missouri, the State of my residence, has not seceded, and secession would, in my opinion, be her ruin. The only special interest of Missouri, in common with the Confederate States, is slavery. Her interest in that institution is now protected by the Federal Constitution. But if Missouri secedes, that protection is gone. Surrounded on three sides by free States, which might soon become hostile, it would not be long until a slave could not be found within her borders. What interest could Missouri then have with the cotton States, or a confederacy founded on slavery or its extension? The protection of her slave property, if nothing else, admonishes Missouri never to give up the Union. Other interests of vast magnitude can only be preserved by steadfast adherence and support of the United States Government. All hope of a Pacific railroad, so deeply interesting to St. Louis and the whole State, must vanish with the Government. Great manufacturing and commercial interests, with which the cotton States can have no sympathy, must perish in case of secession, and from her present

proud position of a thriving State, rapidly developing every element of wealth and social prosperity, Missouri would dwindle to a mere appendage and convenience for the military aristocracy established in the cotton States. Many other considerations might be offered to show that secession would be ruin to Missouri. And I implore my fellow-citizens of that State not to be seduced by designing men to become the instruments of their mad ambition by plunging the State into the vortex of revolution.

Whether governed by feelings inspired by the banner under which I have served, or by my judgment of my duty as a citizen, or by interests as a resident and property-owner in Missouri, I feel bound to stand by the Union, and, remaining in the service, shall devote my efforts to the maintenance of the Federal Government, and the perpetuation of its blessings to posterity.

Yours, truly,

WM. S. HARNEY,

Brigadier-General U. S. A.

Colonel JOHN O'FALLON, St. Louis, Mo.

As to the loyalty of General Harney, and his unquestioned devotion to the flag and the Constitution of the United States during the civil conflict, there can be no manner of doubt. The history of the great conflict vindicates his name, and he has no enemy so base and envious that is able to point to a single act, private or official, that contains one particle of evidence to prove his want of patriotism and detract from his high standing as an American soldier. More than this, if justice had been done General Harney he would have been placed at the head of the army when death relieved General Scott. Harney's rank, years, experience and superior military powers not only fitted him to command the army, but he was justly entitled to that high position. But such is the high character, the illustrious deeds and great name of General Harney, that no malice can reach him, no envy defile his long and eventful record. His name has been fixed upon mountain peaks, upon inland seas, and upon works of art,

there to shine in imperishable letters of history and science, and to be read and known by civilized men as they tread cycles of succeeding generations yet to be.

Side by side will nature, history and science perpetuate his name with that of the great German, Humboldt, and long after those who, stimulated by intrigue and ambition, plotted his overthrow and sought to tarnish his fair name, shall have mouldered into dust, time, the avenger of all things, will hold in its sacred keeping his undying name, engraven upon the eternal hills and waters of a continent over which he extended his labors to plant empire and enlarge the rule of the Constitution.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN.

THE discovery of America revealed to the elder families of man aboriginal races, native to the continent, which have presented to thought and science new problems, the solution of which have called into requisition the ablest exponents of civilized warfare, of government, and of religion.

It is in the character of an Indian-fighter and negotiator that the superior and most distinctive qualities of General Harney's thought and action shine out with their strongest individuality. He was a Christian warrior, and he was intimately acquainted with the habits, modes of thought, and secret springs of action of our savage tribes. He had spent many years among them in intimate relations, and a warm sympathy existed between them. He saw much in them to admire and respect, and his moderation, his justice, and his soldierly qualities, had presented themselves to the Indians so strongly that they revered and even loved him.

Before we form our estimate of the Indians we must try to produce before the mind the picture of that unhappy people before civilization had overwhelmed and degraded them. The Indian of a generation since, is quite a different object from the Indian of to-day.

Here was a people whose religion and whose institutions had come down to them from a period so remote that the twilight of creation envelopes them. They were as brave as any race of which history makes record, and they had a genius for war surpassing that of any other aboriginal tribes, and which made them at least equal to the best instructed civilized soldiers. The Indian was a self-respect-

ing man whose institutions were founded upon the absolutely sacred dignity of every individual of the society, and where each was reverenced for his achievements alone.

Our North American Indians have suffered much from two diverse views of their character, views widely separated and equally erroneous. One of these was promulgated by the natural Indian hater, who pictured him as cruel, rapacious, and unfeeling, a creature of vicious tastes and brutal instincts. The other view was that of the impracticable sentimentalist, who looked upon the savage state as an arcadian existence, where exertion and repose were in their happiest combination, and where man, surrounded by untrammelled nature, was a creature of purity and truth, brave, courteous, hospitable, chivalric. The philanthropist who witnessed their heroic struggle and their unhappy fall, could but feel sad over each new development in their history, while the hardy frontiersman who felt the weight of the vengeance that their many wrongs had aroused, looked upon them as fiends incarnate, and sought their extermination without pity and without remorse.

Between these two ideal creations the North American Indian stands out a well defined, and by no means a repulsive object, in the history of this country. His virtues were many, his discernment good, his character stable and devoid of petty meannesses, while his vices were such as we may excuse, for we can find for them a reasonable explanation. It is difficult to attempt an exposition of Indian character, and the almost continuous struggle of civilization and savagery here, for, as has been well said in an early official paper, "The situation of the Indians and the operation of the settlement and improvement of the country upon them are without a parallel in the progress of human society." The advance of civilization was regarded by the Indian not as a blessing which was to furnish him with new means of subsistence, but as a cause which was to

sweep him from the earth. In time he came to see the futility of the resistance he was making, and consented to treaties in which he made large concessions to the whites. It is the disgrace of our civilization that upon its out-posts there has always been found by the side of the true pioneer a class of white men who sought their own advantage by every possible means. These creatures, who were at once the basest and most unscrupulous of their species, were the refuse product of civilization, and they inflamed the passions of the Indians to fury.

The question of the origin of the Indians and their settlement of this continent has opened up a boundless field of inquiry which has engaged the attention of many scholarly and able men. Eliot, in 1631, first opened up the subject in a comprehensive review, and a quaint writer of that time, Cotton Mather, calls them "the ruins of mankind."

The lapse of more than two hundred years has not been able to stifle the moral sensibilities of Americans on the subject, nor have the problems of their origin or of their peculiarities been solved, for large masses of absolutely new information are constantly being brought forward. It would seem that the name Indian, has misled many into a semi-belief of their unity with the Hindoos, and some points of resemblance have been traced in inscriptions which have been noticed among the Aztecs, but there now exists no doubt that these drawings are of a date subsequent to the conquest of Mexico. There was a tradition among the South American tribes of an universal deluge at a remote age, which swept off all mankind but a single family or pair, to whom the re-peopleing of the world is attributed. Still no trace of Christianity or of Mohamedanism is found among them, but their manners and customs present some traits which denote their unity with a more ancient race whose opinions and dogmas once overspread the Oriental world. Allusion is made to some of the earliest nations in the worship of the sun and moon, the adoration of the prin-

HARNEY'S LAKE, OREGON.

ciple of fire, and the dogmas of the principles of good and evil. In Peru, the worship of the sun existed with a ceremony and intensity as full as was ever witnessed by the Ghebins of Persia, and these are evidences of the ancient prevalence of this worship throughout America. In Mexico, where the doctrine had been overlaid by horrid rites and superstitions, it was still a fundamental belief, and they attributed to the sun all vitality, power and intelligence. Tribes who passed at various eras from the tropical to the temperate latitudes, and who abhorred human sacrifices, carried with them the milder forms and ceremonies of this early superstition of the human race.

The rites of this worship were established at an early epoch on the banks of the Mississippi. They were found by De Soto among the Quigualtangi on the east bank of the river below the junction of the Arkansas. He aimed vainly to ingratiate himself as the "child of the sun." The French found this belief to exist throughout this geographical position on the settlement of Louisiana. It is believed that at recent periods its sacred fires have been lit on the summits of the tumuli, which were once so widely spread throughout this valley. Vestiges of the former prevalence of fire worship exist over immense spaces, and its rites are found to lie at the foundation of the aboriginal religion throughout the geographical area of the United States. In one of the Indian traditions the preservation of a sacred fire is carried to the banks of Lake Superior. Even over the bleak latitudes of New England, where the sparseness of the nation's population did not permit large assemblages to assist in such rites, there is the clearest indication that the sun was worshiped as the direct symbol and visible presence of the Great Spirit. Cotton Mather observes of the Massachusetts Indians, "There is with them a Sun-god and a Moon-god, and the like, and they cannot conceive but that fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will produce very strange effects." Hymns to the sun

were found to be offered by a Chippeway prophetess on Lake Superior, and on her scroll of sacred symbols that of the moon was found prominent and much relied on. The origin of manners and customs, of rites and opinions, are often found to successfully defy every other mode of investigation, than that to be derived from attempts to record the outlines of ideas by rude symbols, and these latter are abundant among the Indians. The sacred character of fire is impressed very widely and deeply on Indian manners and customs. Among the Chippeways of the north, there is a custom to light a fire at night on a newly made grave, and to renew this fire during four nights. Fire, in their minds, is regarded, in some manner, as we should the opening of a door into the spiritual world. It is believed that its symbolic light is thus thrown on the path of the deceased to guide his footsteps through its darkling way to the land of the dead.

It is to be observed that these rites and these superstitions are not of a debasing nature, but that in the absence of Christianity they are rather elevating and ennobling, in leading the mind to the contemplation of higher sources of power and reliance upon a divinity that is beneficent in its operations.

The importance which the aborigines attach to the substance of fire, and its effects on their superstitious rites and customs, has impressed leading minds, who have been led to turn their thoughts from the daily passing customs of Indian life to the more abstract philosophical considerations on which those customs are founded.

The early missionaries of Europe who visited the Indians, were hurried away by an entirely spiritual view of their reclamation, without casting a thought on speculative subjects. A later class of observers have, however, been impressed by the stress which all Indians lay on the production of a sacred fire to be used in their most solemn transactions. Mr. Cass, who in 1820 visited the northern

Indian tribes, saw in this ceremonious respect for fire, and in contemplating their customs, a deeper meaning. He says many of the customs which formerly existed among the Indian tribes are now preserved only in tradition. Of these one of the most singular was an institution for the preservation of an eternal fire. All the rites and duties connected with it are yet fresh in the recollection of the Indians, and it was not extinguished until after the French arrived upon the great lakes.

The prevalence of a similar custom among the nations of the East, from a very early period, is well known to all who have traced the history and progress of human superstitions. And from them it found its way to Greece and eventually to Rome. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the element of fire should be selected as the object of worship by nations ignorant of the true religion and seeking safety in that system of polytheism which marked the manners and morals of the most polished people of antiquity. The affections seem to require something visible and tangible for their support, and this mysterious agent was sufficiently powerful in its effects and striking in its operation to appear as a direct emanation of the Deity. But there was a uniformity in the mode of worship and in the principles of its observance which leave no doubt of the common origin of this belief. The sacred flame was not only regarded as the object of veneration, but its preservation was indissolubly connected with the existence of the state. It was the visible emblem of the public safety, guarded by chosen ministers secured by dreadful imprecations and punishments and made holy by a solemn and imposing ritual. The coincidences which will be found between these observances and opinions, and the ceremonies and belief of the Indians, indicate with sufficient certainty that their notions upon this subject were brought with them from the eastern hemisphere and were derived from the fruitful Persian stock. It is certain that the Natchez were fire worshipers,

and without giving full credit to all the marvelous tales related of this tribe by the early French travelers, we may yet be satisfied from many concurring accounts that they were believers in the efficacy of an eternal fire. Charlevoix represents most of the tribes of Louisiana as having a perpetual fire in their temples. The Natchez, who were worshipers of the sun and took their cognomen of political power from that luminary, kept its symbol perpetually burning. Both he and Du Pratz were eye-witnesses of this rite. This tribe had a sacred edifice devoted to it, and the nation pretended to be descendants of the sun. The hereditary dignitary of Ruler or Chief Sun descended in the female line, and the laws of intermarriage were so regulated that his descendants were obliged to ally themselves with the lower class of the tribe—a system by which all came to be identified and bound together in their political and religious ties and honors. The title of Sun was equivalent to that of Inca or Emperor, and he exercised a more despotic power than appears to have been awarded to any other nation north of Mexico. This power and this worship were kept up with an oriental display and an oriental use of the language of honor and ceremony long after the French settled in the Mississippi Valley, and indeed up to their destruction in 1729.

These investigations denote some striking coincidences with the earlier forms of human opinion. They remind one more of the dogmas of Zoroaster than of the philosophers of later date. They recall the idea of the Author of the creation under the symbol of the Sun, which lies at the foundation of the worship of an eternal fire. This opinion reverts back, not to the philosophy, rites, and arts of the Hindoos, involved in their subtle systems of polytheism, but it carries the mind to the original seats of mankind.

An interest is thus thrown over the history of the races which, while it eludes scrutiny, becomes deeper the more calmly and soberly we view it. Arts, sciences, and reli-

gions have grown up in Asia and extended themselves over tribes of nations who were then nomadic and barbarous. Europe has since become the great theatre of human knowledge, letters, and arts; and we point our telescope toward the ancient and time-honored shores of Asia as if we could descry the early tracks of nations in the sand.

One of our later writers, one, perhaps, of more research than any other, in speaking of the divergence of the Indians from their parent stock, says: "Immense changes have supervened. Nearly four centuries have passed since the Indian rule or empire in America fell. His ancient arts are gone. He could build mounds, form intrenchments and utensils of clay, make axes of copper and bronze, carve images, weave nets, make needles, and other fabrics. We have trampled upon him with the foot of a giant, laughed at his manners and customs, put out his fires, and pursued him with the arts of civilization till he has completely lost his own."

Charlevoix, one of the most learned, benevolent, and candid observers, remarks that "with a mien and appearance altogether savage, and with manners and customs which favor the greatest barbarity, the Indian enjoys all the advantages of society. At first view one would imagine them without form of government, law or subordination, and subject to the wildest caprice. Nevertheless they very rarely deviate from certain maxims or usages founded on good sense alone, which holds the place of law, and supplies in some sort the want of authority. Reason alone is capable of retaining them in a kind of subordination not the less effectual toward the end proposed for being entirely voluntary. They manifest much stability in the engagements they have solemnly entered upon, particularly in application as well as in their submission to what they apprehend to be the appointment of Providence; in all of which they exhibit a nobleness of soul and constancy of

mind at which we rarely arrive with our philosophy and religion."

When the Indian is compared with civilized man, we have an opportunity of noting the wide difference of two forms of culture. We absorb our knowledge and view of opinions in most part from what is written by others, and so absorb into ourselves a portion of the thought and feeling of others. The Indian, taciturn, solitary and reflecting, expands from within himself and evolves opinions that sometimes amuse us and sometimes stagger our philosophy. Because he is furious in his resentments in a state of war, or fierce personal feud, or cruel and unsparing in his wrath, it is not to be inferred that this is his natural or ordinary mood. But, it may be asked, is this unscrupulous fury, under such circumstances, greater than that of a brutal commander who puts a whole garrison to the sword, merely because they defended a work with heroic bravery? Are his endurance at the stake, and his shouts and songs of triumph under torment more strange than the firmness which has sustained martyrs dying for a principle?

His language is forcible, but his vocabulary is small and not flexible, and ill-adapted to purposes of lyric poetry. Yet as an orator the striking originality of his expressions and his directness charm us who are acquainted with the best of the Athenian models. Our earliest notices of him denote a man of excellent powers in oratory. Nothing that actually exists in his life and trainings would seem indeed to justify so much vigor of thought and propriety of expression. But it is not recollected in this view that he has been brought up in the school of nature, where his mind from childhood has been impressed by images which are bold, vivid, and fresh. His books, truly, have been the heavens, with all their bright phenomena, and when he takes the oratorical attitude, and employs figures to enable him to express his meaning within the compass of a limited vocabulary, it is from this store-house of his thoughts that

the selection is made. These illustrations are striking and pertinent, because they are simple and true. Nor is he deficient when he comes to discourse of things of the heart and of its affections. Stoical and imperturbable he is indeed, in a manner, but it is sufficient to allude to the names of Garraugula, of Logan, Sagoyawatha, or Red Jacket, of Caunassatigo, Pontiac, Skenandoah, of the once powerful Passaconaway, and a line of renowned aboriginal speakers, to sustain the conclusion that they have produced men of intellectual, energetic and eloquent minds. If the physiologist does not perceive why the Indian does not develop mind, while he aims to preserve ideas of the strength and skill of his distinguished men by muemonic appeals to a rude pictography; while he invents fictions to amuse his hearers; while he is eloquent in council and in debate, when he has great things at stake; if his faculties can be stimulated to understand the mental operations of arithmetic, and to comprehend the elements of knowledge, it is not perceived why the aboriginal man is deficient in his natural intellectual powers. The Gospel mystery of the union of God and man has been dissolved before his eyes by DeSmet, and Eliot, and Brainerd, and a host of self-sacrificing divines, and he has been brought to feel his deficiencies in presenting himself in his own strength before his Creator. He has learned the mystery of letters, and one, the Cadmus of his age, invented for his people an alphabet of the simple sounds of his language, more flexible and easier to learn than the Romaic characters which have been bent to fit our own composite tongue.

The leaders in the advancement of civilization over the domain of the Indians, have, of necessity, taken on a more or less manlike character. The garb of either the priest or the soldier was necessary to command their respect and obedience, and it is in this connection interesting to follow the path of DeSoto, LaSalle, and Marquette, who traced paths in the wilderness along which General Harney, in

the first part of the nineteenth century, was to follow with an enthusiasm equal to theirs, and with an ardor and intrepidity that makes him the crusader of his age. Gayarre, the historian of Louisiana, draws an ideal picture of De-Soto's career:

"On the 31st of May, 1839, the bay of Santa Spirito in Florida presented a curious spectacle. Eleven vessels of quaint shape, bearing the broad banner of Spain, were moved close to the shore. One thousand men of infantry and three hundred and fifty of cavalry, fully equipped, were landed in proud array under the command of Hernando de Soto, one of the most illustrious companions of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, and reputed one of the best lances of Spain. 'When he led the van of battle, so powerful was his charge,' says the old chronicler of his exploits, 'so broad was the passage which he carved out in the ranks of the enemy, that ten of his men-at-arms could with ease follow him abreast.' He had acquired enormous wealth in Peru, and might have rested satisfied a knight of renown in the government of St. Jago de Cuba, in the enjoyment of youth and of power, basking in the smiles of his beautiful wife, Isabella de Bobadilla. But his adventurous mind scorned such inglorious repose, and now he stands erect and full of pride on the sandy shores of Florida, whither he comes with feudal power, by leave of the King, to establish nothing less than a marquisate ninety-five miles long by forty-five miles wide, and there to rule supreme a governor for life of all the territory that he can subjugate. Not unmindful he, the Christian knight, of his duty toward the imperishable souls of his future vassals, for twenty-two ecclesiastics accompany him to preach the Word of God. Among his followers are gentlemen of the best blood of Spain and Portugal, who, by combined skill and bravery, had won the praises of Gonsaloo de Condova, yclept 'the great captain,' Vasconcellas de Silva, of Portugal, who for birth and courage knew no superior,

Nuno Toboa, a knight above fear and reproach, Murcaso de Alvarado, who in that small host of heroes ranked in their estimation next to De Soto himself. Let the imagination trace the glorious pageantry as it sweeps by through the long vistas of those pine woods. How nobly they bore themselves, those bronzed sons of Spain clad in their refulgent armour! How fleet they move—those Andalusian chargers with arched necks, dilated nostrils. But the whole train suddenly halts in that verdant valley, by that bubbling stream, shaded by venerable oaks with gray moss hanging from their branches, in imitation of the whitening beard of age. Let the whole encampment rise distinct upon the mind, De Soto seated apart with his peers in rank if not in command, and intent upon developing to them his plans of conquest, while the dusky faces of Indian boys and women in the background expressed their wild astonishment. None of the warriors of that race were to be seen. They are reported to have been absent on a distant hunting expedition, but some of them may at times have peered through the neighboring thickets with fierce glance and martial eye sparkling with the suppressed fury of anticipated revenge. What incredible difficulties are overcome by the advancing host! How heroic is the resistance of the Mobilians and of the Alabamians! With what headlong fury those denizens of the forest rushed upon the iron-clad warriors and dared the thunders of those whom they took to be the children of the sun! How splendidly described is the seige of Mobile, where women fought like men and wrapped themselves up in the flames of their destroyed city, rather than surrender to their invaders! But the conquering herd must beware, for he is soon to encamp on the territory of the Chickasaws, the most ferocious of the Indian tribes, and it was lucky that De Soto was as prudent as he was brave, and slept equally prepared for an advance or an attack. In the dead of a winter's night, when the cold north wind in the month of January, 1541, was howl-

ing through the leafless trees, a simultaneous howling was heard, more hideous than the voice of the tempest. The Indians rushed impetuously with fire brands, and the thatched roofs which sheltered the Spaniards were soon on fire, threatening them with immediate destruction. The horses rear and plunge in wild affright, and break loose from their fastenings. The naked yet undaunted Spaniards struggle against the devouring element and the unsparing foe. The desperate deeds of valor executed by De Soto and his companions, the deep-toned shouts of Saint Jago and Spain to the rescue, the demon-like shrieks of the red warriors, the final overthrow of the Indians, the hot pursuit by the late occupants of the flaming village, form a picture highly exciting to the imagination, and cold indeed must he be who does not take delight in the strange contrast of the heroic warfare of chivalry on the one side and of the untutored courage of man in a savage state on the other.

"At last De Soto stands upon the banks of the Mississippi, near the spot where now stands the Egyptian-named city of Memphis. He crosses the mighty river and onward he goes up to White River, while roaming over the territory of Arkansas. Meeting with alternate hospitality and hostility on the part of the Indians, he arrives at the mouth of Red River, within the present limits of the State of Louisiana. There he was fated to close his adventurous career. He who in Spain was cheered by beauty's glance, by the song of minstrel when he sped to the contest with adversaries worthy of his prowess—with the noble and chivalric Maons; he who had reveled in the halls of the imperial Incas of Peru, and who was said to have amassed princely wealth; he, the flower of European courts, had been wildly roaming over an immense territory where he had discovered but half-naked savages dwelling in miserable huts, ignobly repulsive when compared with Castile's stately domes, with Grenada's fantastic palaces, and with Peru's imperial dwellings, massive with gold. His wealth was

gone. Two-thirds of his brave companions were dead. What account of them would he render to their noble families, and he bankrupt in fame and in fortune? How would he withstand the gibe of envy? Thought, that inward scourge of life, racked his brain, and his heart was seared with deep anguish. A slow fever wasted his powerful frame, and he sank on his couch never to rise again. The Spaniards closed around him and alternately looked with despair on their dying chieftain and at the ominous hue of the bloody river known at this day under the name of *Red River*. But he was not the man to let the wild havoc in the soul betray itself in the outward mien. It was not in him to utter to the vulgar herd one word of wail, but with smiling lips and stern brow he addressed his companions and summoned them one by one to swear allegiance in his hands to Murcaso de Alvarado, whom he designated as his successor. 'Union and perseverance, my friends,' he said. 'So long as the breath of life animates your bodies, do not falter in the enterprise you have undertaken. Spain expects a richer harvest and more ample domains for her.'"

The same historian, Gayarre, paints also the picture of La Salle's enterprise as follows: "One hundred and thirty years had passed away since the apparition of De Soto, without any further attempt on the part of the white race to enter into that fair region, when on the 7th of July, 1673, a small band of Canadians reached the Mississippi, which they had come to seek from the distant city of Quebec. That band had two leaders—Father Marquette, a monk, and Joliet, a merchant—the prototypes of two great sources of power, religion and commerce, which in the course of time were destined to exercise such an influence on the civilization of the Western territory traversed by the mighty river, which they had discovered. They could not be ordinary men, these adventurers, who in those days undertook to expose themselves to the fatigues and perils

of a journey through unknown solitudes from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

"That humble monkish gown of Father Marquette concealed a hero's heart, and in the merchant's breast there dwelt a soul that would have degraded no belted knight.

"Joliet and Father Marquette floated down the river without much impediment as far as the Arkansas. There they had received sufficient evidence that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and they retraced their way and returned to Canada. But in that frail bark, drifting down the current of the Mississippi, sat the hard-plodding merchant, with the deep wrinkles of thought and forecast on his brow, planning deep schemes of trade with unknown nations, and surveying with curious eye that boundless territory which seemed as some long stretch in commensurate proportion with the infiniteness of space. In that frail bark, where mused over his breviary that grey haired monk, leaning on that long staff, surmounted with the silver cross of Christ, and computing the souls that he had saved, and the souls to be saved from idolatry, is there not as much poetry as in the famed vessel of Argus sailing in quest of the golden fleece? Were not their hearts as brave as those of the Greek adventurers? Were not their dangers as great, and was not the object they had in view much superior?"

Thus, on the first acquaintance of our European fathers with the great valley of the Mississippi, there was an instinct that thrilled them with the thought that it was there that the seeds of empire and greatness were sown. Were they not right in those deviations that pushed them onward to that favored spot through so many dangers? Greatness and empire were there, and therefore all the elements of poetry.

In 1673, La Salle, with the genius and daring which seemed to grow brighter as years passed away, landed in Canada after forming a gigantic plan of connecting the St.

Lawrence with the Mississippi, by a chain of forts. He returned to France, and with that assurance which genius imparts, would have forced his way to the foot of the throne and appealed to majesty itself, but he first fired the Prince Conti with his own generous and contagious enthusiasm, and through him obtained from the king immense concessions of land, and all the powers and privileges required for trading with the Indians, and for carrying on his meditated plans of discovery. He was also ennobled by letters patent.

Again on the 15th of September, 1678, proud and erect, with the consciousness of success, he stood within the walls of Quebec, and was stimulated by the cheers of the whole population. He immediately entered upon the execution of his daring projects. Four years after he was at the mouth of the Mississippi and in the name (as appears from the notarial act still extant) of the most puissant, most high, and most victorious King Louis the Great, King of France, took possession of all the country which he had discovered.

Two years later he returned to France and found himself famous, and the poor boy, the ignoble by birth, was presented to Louis XIV, amid all the splendor of his court. That Jupiter among the kings of earth had a smile to bestow upon the humble subject who came to deposit at the foot of the throne the title deeds of such broad domains.

La Salle, again in pursuit of his audacious design, sailed from France with four vessels to find himself abandoned on the shores of the bay of St. Bernard, in 1685, and was reduced to shift for himself with very limited resources. Then follows a period of three other years of great suffering and of bloody and incessant wanderings through the territory of the present State of Texas. Here, after a long series of adventures, he was basely murdered by his French companions, and revenged by his body servant, an Englishman by birth. He died somewhere about the spot

where now stands the town of Washington, which owes its foundation to some of that race to whom belong his avenger, and the flag of the United States now proudly waves where the first herald of civilization consecrated with his blood the future land of liberty.

It is only by comparing the views of contemporaries that we can judge of the surroundings of prominent men, and the lights they had to guide them and the difficulties they encountered.

Fifty years after La Salle, Lamothe Cardillac, a witty and discerning official of the French court in Louisiana, protested against any effort at commerce with the northern tributaries of the Mississippi. On receiving positive orders to assist the agents of Crozat in establishing trading posts on the Wabash and on the Illinois, he wrote, "I have seen Crozat's instructions to his agents and thought them issued from a lunatic asylum, and there appeared to me to be no more sense in them than in the apocalypse. It is expected that for any commercial or profitable purpose, boats will never be able to run up the Mississippi into the Wabash, the Missouri, or the Red rivers. One might as well try to bite a slice off the moon." Cardillac was one of the most penetrating men of his age, and yet he saw no further than this. So at every stage of the progress of civilization on this continent there has been a vigorous opposition to advance, and now let us withhold no meed of the praise due to those who made that progress possible, and who pushed on the car of progress itself.

Again Cardillac writes to the ministry: "Not only are these rivers as rapid as the Rhone, but in their crooked course they imitate to perfection a snake's undulations. Hence, for instance, on every turn of the Mississippi traders would be obliged to wait for a change of wind, if wind could be had. For this river is so lined up with thick woods that very little wind has access to its bed."

It was not until 1852 that the Red River was ever fully

explored, and it was then brought about by Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War. The officers detailed for the service were Randolph B. Marcy, Captain of the 5th infantry, assisted by George B. McClellan, brevet Captain U. S. Engineers.

In considering the influence of the Indian character in connection with the military operations upon this continent, we must constantly remember that we are separated by but a narrow line from the Indian tribes that have virtually disappeared, and also that when General Harney came upon the field the whole territory west of the Mississippi, and many of what are now our fairest States, were virtually under savage domination.

Among the first of General Harney's labors was a military service in Florida, where he served on the staff of his friend and patron, General Jackson. To show the spirit that animated those Indians, and their ferocity, mingled with magnanimity and lucid reasoning, there is no finer example of Indian thought and Indian eloquence than the speech of Weatherford before General Jackson, on the question of the removal of the tribes. Weatherford had been the leader in what is called the "atrocious butchery at Fort Mims." A number of the chiefs of the hostile party sought the presence of Jackson, and offered peace upon his own terms. Jackson demanded as a preliminary to negotiations the surrender of Weatherford. A few days after an Indian presented himself at the camp, and desired to be conducted to the presence of the General, to whom he announced himself as Weatherford.

The American commander expressed his astonishment that one whose hands were stained with the inhuman murder of captives should dare to appear in his presence, knowing as he must that his arrest had been ordered for the purpose of bringing him to punishment. The undaunted chieftain replied: "I am in your power; do with me as you please; I am a warrior, and I have done the

white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. If I had any warriors left I would still fight and contend to the last. But I have none. My people are gone, and now I can only mourn over the misfortunes of my nation."

Struck with a magnanimity so near akin to his own high spirit, the General explained to the visitor the terms upon which his people might have peace, adding that he should take no advantage of his voluntary surrender, and that he was now at liberty to remain and be protected, or retire and re-unite himself with the war party, but that if taken his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes.

The undismayed savage, retaining the self-possession which distinguishes his race, replied: "I am willing to be addressed in such language now. There was a time when I could have answered you. I then had a choice, but now I have none. Even hope has ended. Once I could lead my warriors to battle, but I cannot call the dead to life. My warriors can no longer hear my voice. Their bones are at Talludega, Tallaschatchie, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself without reflection. While there was a chance of success I never left my post nor asked for peace, but my people are gone, and I now ask for peace for my nation and for myself. I look back with sorrow upon the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, and wish to avoid still greater calamities. Our best warriors are slain, our cattle and grain destroyed, and our women and children are destitute of provisions. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river and fought them on the other, but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man, I rely on your generosity. You will exact no terms from a conquered people but such as they should accept. Whatever they may be, it would be madness in us to oppose them. If any oppose them you will find me stern in enforcing obedience. Those

who would still hold out can be influenced only by revenge, and to this they must not, and shall not, sacrifice the last remnants of their nation. You have told us where we must go and be safe. This is a good talk, and they ought to listen to it, and they shall listen to it."

Where can we find an instance of a Christian soldier taking a more generous part or placing himself in a more self-sacrificing position? Neither does the savage lose any of his dignity in his utter defeat. It will not do to treat such an individual either as a child or as a man deficient in clearness of judgment, and we see how intricate are the questions that presented themselves to the soldier of a generation ago.

Though their language was ill adapted to rhythmical poetry, their ideas were eminently poetical, and the nomenclature which they have left upon our mountains, our majestic rivers, and our geographical sub-divisions of the country, are beautiful and expressive to a degree that no other nation can boast. An American female poet has given this idea a very happy expression in the following lines:

"I see that all have passed away,
The noble race and brave,
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave,
That 'mid the forests where they roamed,
There rings no hunter's shout,
But their name is on your waters,
Ye may not wash it out.

"I see their cone-like cabins,
That cluster o'er the vale,
Have disappeared as withered leaves
Before the autumn gale.
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore,
Your ever rolling rivers speak,
Their dialect of yore."

A volume of geographical facts regarding the position of the Indians, which was laid before the Congress of the

United States a few years before our great civil war, traces in a concise manner the movements of the Indian tribes during our short history.

Once spread out along the Atlantic and the Gulf coasts, from the St. John's, in Maine, to the mouths of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande, not a tribe remains on its original hunting grounds. Some remnants of them have betaken themselves to nooks and corners of their once wide domain, where they linger in dreams of a pleasing, quiet philosophy in thinking on the past. A few of them, who yet show by a pie-bald costume a preference for the tastes of their fathers, are found to gain a subsistence as lumbermen on the banks of the Penobscot—delighted with the fierce and wild currents of waters where they once guided their canoes. Others, living on the stormy coasts of Cape Cod and the islands of Massachusetts, attached as gulls are to their sea rocks, have adopted the vocation of seamen and whalers. The converts of the days of Eliot and the Mayhews are gone. The fiery and subtle Pokanoket, King Philip, no longer alarms the disturbed pilgrims of England. Nucas has joined his great rival Miantonima in the land of spirits, and if the ghosts of red men come back to visit their hunting grounds, Tamenund, the St. Tammany of our history, stalks over his old island of Manhattan, literally the place of the whirlpool, called Hell Gate, to ask what all this incessant clamor of ships and buildings and temples and the endless roar of wheels and carriages night and day imports. The once haughty Iroquois, who trod the earth with a high step, has withdrawn to one of those nooks on the western skirts of his once lordly patrimony, where he plows the soil and drives oxen. He no longer, like the ancient Idumean chiefs, holds the olive branch in one hand and the tomahawk in the other, to sway the destinies of councils. His simple and proud eloquence is no longer exerted to hurl irony at La Barre from the tongue of a Garrangula, or touch the deepest recesses of the human

heart with the appeals of a Logan. The conquered Lenni Lenapees are no longer cowed down in council with the keen reproof of a Canassatigo—"Who gave you authority to sell lands?" The Eries have not come back to occupy the position from which they were driven from near the vicinage of the ceaseless roaring of Niagara. The Susquehannocks have never wandered from the symbolic hunting grounds to which they were suddenly dispatched by the Iroquois tomahawks. The Powhatans, who once swept the forests of the Potomac, the Rappahannock and the princely James River, are no more alarmed by traces of the footsteps of the sanguinary Massawomacks, who have ranged the heights and skirts of the Alleghanies a thousand miles to wrench off the scalps of a Mannahoac, an Erie, a Catawba, or a Cherokee.

The position of the tribes is wholly changed. The Arabian magician could scarcely have done it more quickly, or at least more effectively. The Alleghanies, which cost a British army such peril to cross in 1775, have been surmounted without an effort, and the Ohio valley, so often essayed by the sword, has at last been conquered by the plow. The tribes have learned this art from the white man, and they have gone west beyond the Father of Waters with the implements of peace in their hands. The Delawares now plant corn on the banks of the Kansas, or hunt the deer in Texas. The Mohicans, who once attracted the love of Zinzendorf and his brethren, and who so long and prominently, under Edwards, enjoyed the care of the London society for propagating the gospel, yet linger in fragmentary bands in Eastern Wisconsin, or share the hospitality of their Delaware brethren west of the Missouri. There are found also spread out over the territorial length of Kansas, the Shawnees, the true Parthians of our history, the Miamis, who so long battled for the Wabash, the elementary bands of the once famous Illinois and the numerous other tribes of the wide-spreading Algonquin

stock. Pontiac no longer battles for nationality at Detroit, nor Minniwawinna at Michilimackinac.

The whole Atlantic coasts are as free from the footsteps of those once proud, populous and dominant races as the ruins of Palmyra are from the tread of their builders—unless indeed we admit an exception in behalf of those delegates from the tribes of the West, who have adopted letters, arts and Christianity, and who visit the city of the republic periodically to inquire into their affairs.

The wilderness has ever been a very attractive position to the Indian. So early as 1796, while Louisiana was still under Spanish rule, two of the most active and restless and enterprising of the Algonquin group of tribes, the Shawnees and the Delawares, made arrangements for crossing the Mississippi and occupying positions in the central and wild parts of that province. They were followed in the design of finding better hunting grounds, about 1816, at the close of the war with Great Britain, by a part of the Cherokees, who in the treaty with the United States of 1817, secured the right to occupy a tract therein referred to, lying on the northern borders of Arkansas. Small bands and remnants of tribes of the Gulf shores and lower parts of Louisiana had at earlier dates passed into the region of the Red River and its tributaries. Causes were, therefore, it will be seen, in operation as the settlements were developed, to produce voluntary migration to a region which offered advantages to a hunter population.

The introduction of gunpowder and fire arms among the Indian tribes has produced the great changes in Indian industry. The fur trade had at first stimulated the chase and aroused the Indian hunter to greater activity, but it at length reacted, and by furnishing him greater facilities to gratify his tastes produced depopulation and weakness. His lands were quickly denuded of game, and remained an encumbrance on his hands, but at the same time better fitted for a white agricultural population. By ceding his

surplus territory from time to time he has repaired the declining fortunes of the fur trade, and had the means of subsistence and clothing. Taking annuities in money has had a dissipating, if not a paralyzing effect; for while the periodical possession of wealth which could not be prudently expended has not only operated as a bar to industry but fostered his native bias for a life of ease, freedom and idleness, scarcely anything has been thought of when want began to infringe but to continue the course of cessions and fly to remoter localities in the west. Thus the entire maritime borders of the colonies were originally relinquished, and men now living have seen him cross at separate points the Alleghanies and the Mississippi.

The name of Oregon is derived from the Spanish word for the artimesia or wild sage. This plant is found in the country east of the Cascade Mountains to the Rocky Mountains, and to the sources of the Nebraska. By the early Spanish traders from Santa Fe it was called *Oregano*. The oldest mountain men corrupted this term to Oregon.

Before one proceeds too far in sympathy for the Indian tribes, and lamentation over their unhappy fate, it is well to also consider the statement of Schoolcraft in that connection. His opportunities for investigation and his research exceed those of any other writer, and greater weight attaches to his conclusions. He says: "No government on earth has ever been more liberal in its political treatment to an aboriginal population. All the ancient conquerors of Europe and Asia put iron yokes upon the subdued nations. The most grievous political exactions were everywhere made. Rome tried to exterminate the Britons, and the Normans made the Anglo-Saxon actually go to bed at curfew to prevent faction from germinating." William Von Humboldt observes in his investigations among the Basque tribes of Spain that even the very terms and monuments of their traditions and history had been obliterated by their Spanish conquerors, and that their curious and complex

language was in fact all that was left to denote their old nationality. The Spanish did the same thing in America, so far as related to the antiquities of maps, picture writings and a certain class of sculptures in Mexico. Where they could not destroy they buried them, as we behold in the great calendar stone of Mexico, which is *par excellence the* monument of the astronomical knowledge of the Toltecs and Aztecs.

The agriculture of the Indian was, of course, extremely rude. He was indeed separated by a wide step from agricultural life. Barbarous nations first become pastoral and then agricultural. The Indian had not yet reached the pastoral state when America was discovered, and the attempt to force civilization upon him without its transitional stages was a failure. He withered away before the touch of civilization.

Still he preserved for the European races that were to succeed him, three gifts of the soil worth many thousands of times more than all the wealth of the Peruvian Incas. These were tobacco, the potatoe, and Indian corn. These articles have given commerce and civilization an impetus that is almost incalculable. Subtract Indian corn from the history of America and it would place us backward hundreds of years in the calendar of progress. Still this food was planted only to a limited extent by the Atlantic and Mississippi tribes, for no trader or traveler has noticed its cultivation among the interior or mountain tribes.

Tobacco was discovered in America by the Spaniards in 1560. It had been used by the aborigines from unknown times, and the greatest value was set upon it. It was first sent to Spain from a port in Yucutan, called Tobago, whence the name. Sir Walter Raleigh introduced it into England about 1585, and first taught the people how to use it. The plant is now used by most European and Asiatic nations, and notwithstanding the opposition of priests and rulers, has taken hold upon all classes of peo-

ple. The Turks and Syrians are as much addicted to its use as the North American Indians themselves, and some of the most caustic and witty observers of the manners of the United States, have made it a point to launch some of their sharpest shafts of ridicule at its extensive use among our people. Its value as an agricultural product places it very high in our list of productions. There appears to be no mention of it in ancient history. Heroditus is silent. The pyramids cast no light on the topic. It is conceded to be of American origin, and the chief supplies are brought from the United States.

The potato is now an important part of the food of civilized man. Before its importation from America the Englishman supplemented his roast beef with parsnips. The large amount of food which it yields from a small space of ground, led to its early introduction into Ireland, where it became the chief food of large masses of people. Hence the misleading term applied to the more important variety called "Irish potatoes," as distinguished from the sweet potato.

To those who first made a study of Indian government, their institutions appeared too rude to entitle them to respect, but we who live under republican rule may now trace its characteristics, and find in some of them the concentrated wisdom of the ages. Nor is it impossible that the early Americans gathered light from the teachings of these solons of the forest.

It is a memorable fact that the Iroquois were so strongly impressed with the wisdom of the workings of their system that they publicly recommended a similar union to the British colonies. In the important conferences at Lancaster in 1774, Cannasatigo, a respected sachem, expressed this view to the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland: "Our wise forefathers," he said, "established unity and amity between the five nations. This has made us formidable. This has given us great weight and

authority with our neighboring nations. We are a powerful confederacy, and by observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken you will acquire fresh strength and power. Therefore I counsel you, whatever befalls you, never to fall out with one another." No sage of the brightest day of Greece could have more fully appreciated the secret of power and success, and, viewed in the light of our recent history, we must accord to this wise man the gift of the greatest elevation of mind, bordering upon actual inspiration.

It remained for the Anglo-Saxon race, who had themselves been struggling for civil liberty and private rights from the days of King John, to appreciate fully the true character of the Iroquois confederacy. No persons seem to have been better qualified to express their sense of this confederacy, or to have so early seen its merits as Cadwallader Colden or DeWitt Clinton.

"The five nations," observes Colden, in 1747, "consist of so many tribes or nations joined together by a league or confederacy, like the United Provinces, without any superiority the one over the other. This union has continued so long that the Christians know nothing of the original of it. The people in it are known to the English under the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas."

The Tuscarawas, after fleeing from Carolina, found refuge with these nations and became incorporated with them, and the Creek Indians were also admitted to their friendship as members of the confederacy.

The historian of their day says of them: "The Five Nations have such absolute notions of liberty that they allow of no kind of superiority of one over another, and banish all servitude from their territories. They never make any prisoner a slave, but it is customary to make a compliment of naturalization into the Five Nations, and considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small compliment."

Monsieur De la Paterie, in his History of North America, says of them: "When we speak of the Five Nations in France they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are as polite and judicious as can well be conceived. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator."

The influence of women among this singularly wise and brave people is clearly presented by Mr. Cadwallader Colden, who had often been a commissioner to the Iroquois during the reign of George II, and who received from them the compliment of adoption:

"The history of the world shows that it is one of the tendencies of bravery to cause woman to be respected, and to assume her proper rank and influence in society. This was strikingly manifested in the history of the Iroquois. They are the only tribes in America, North or South, so far as we have any accounts, who gave to woman a conservative power in their political deliberations. The Iroquois matrons had their representative in the public councils, and they exercised a negative, or what we call the veto power, in the important question of the declaration of war. They had the right, also, to interpose in bringing about a peace. It did not compromise the war policy of the cantons if the body of the matrons expressed a decision in favor of peace. To such a pitch of power had the Iroquois confederacy reached on the discovery of New York in 1609, that there can be no doubt that if the arrival of the Europeans had been delayed a century later it would have absorbed all the tribes situated between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Ohio, if not to the Gulf of Mexico. Such a process of extension was in rapid progress when they were first supplied with fire-arms

by the northern colonists, and as this was in advance of the Western tribes the result was for a long time promoted by it."

It is the observation of DeWitt Clinton, a man of lofty intellect, and who is regarded as having been one of the greatest benefactors of his native State of New York, that the Iroquois were the only people of the Indian stocks who possessed true eloquence; yet we have seen since Clinton's time some of the finest examples of eloquence of which history can boast, in Florida and along the Mississippi river, among native chiefs who felt deeply, and who expressed themselves strongly.

We have seen in a preceding chapter that when the Black Hawk war broke out, General Harney was a Captain in the army, and that he took a lively part in that memorable struggle. Black Hawk, who has obtained such wide celebrity, was not a chief, and does not appear to have been a man of high qualities, though he was the central figure of a memorable struggle, and leader of a people engaged in a brave but hopeless war against the United States. Having been taken prisoner at the close of that contest, he was conducted, with a few companions, to Washington and some other cities, where his fame and his misfortunes caused so much curiosity that he was everywhere visited by crowds, while his propriety of deportment was such as to sustain the reputation that had preceded him.

Keokuk, chief of the Sacs and Foxes, is said to have been possessed of a fine person and gifted with courage, prudence and eloquence. He was also the most daring and graceful rider of his nation, was always well mounted, and he no doubt owed much of his popularity to his imposing appearance when equipped for war or ceremony, and to his feats of horsemanship. "Keokuk," says the chronicler of his time, "is in all respects a magnificent savage. Bold, enterprising and impulsive, he is also placable, and pos-

sesses an intimate knowledge of human nature, and a tact which enables him to bring the resources of his mind into prompt operation."

He once displayed his skill and eloquence in a remarkable manner. Some of his warriors falling in with an encampment of unarmed Menomines in sight of Fort Crawford at Prairie Du Chien, murdered the whole party.

The Menomines, justly incensed at this unprovoked and cowardly murder, declared war, and their friends, the Winnebagoes, who were previously hostile to the Sauks or Sacs, were also highly indignant at this outrage. To prevent a sanguinary war, General Street, agent of the United States at Prairie du Chien, invited the several tribes to a council. They assembled at Fort Crawford, but the Menomines positively refused to hold any negotiations with the offending party. When Keokuk was informed of this resolution he told the Agent confidentially that it made no difference; that he would make a treaty with the Menomines before they separated. All he asked was to be brought face to face with them in the council house. The several tribes accordingly assembled, each sitting apart, but when the ceremony of smoking, which precedes all public discussions, was commenced, the Menomines refused to join in it, sitting in moody silence, while the other tribes indulged in this ordinary courtesy. The breach between the Sacs and Foxes and the Winnebagoes was talked over, explanations were mutually made and peace cemented.

Keokuk then turned toward the Menomines and addressed them. They at first averted their faces or listened with looks of defiance. The commencement of a speech without previously smoking and shaking hands was a breach of etiquette, and he was besides the head of a tribe which had done them an injury that nothing but blood could atone for. Under all these disadvantages the Sauk chief proceeded with his harangue, and such was the power of his eloquence even upon men thus predisposed,

that his hearers gradually relaxed, listened, assented, and when he concluded by saying proudly, but in a conciliatory tone: "I come here to say that I am sorry for the imprudence of my young men—I come to make peace. I now offer the hand of Keokuk. Who will refuse it?"—they rose one by one and accepted the proffered grasp.

Could our own Daniel Webster, or Burke, or Pitt, have relied upon his powers of eloquence and persuasion more completely than did Keokuk?

When Keokuk, with a deputation, among whom were some Sioux, the hereditary enemies of the Sacs and Foxes, visited Washington, the observer at that time remarked, "We remarked a decided want of gracefulness in all these speakers. Each of them, having shaken hands with the Secretary of War, who sat facing the audience, stood immediately before and near him, with the interpreter at his elbow, both having their backs to the spectators, and in this awkward position, speaking low and rapidly, but little of what was said could be understood except by persons near them.

"Not so with Keokuk. When it came his turn to speak, he rose deliberately, advanced to the Secretary, and having saluted him, returned to his place, which, being at the front of the stage, and at one side of it, his face was not concealed from any of the several parties present. His interpreter stood beside him. The whole arrangement was judicious, and though apparently unstudied, showed the tact of the orator. He stood erect, in an easy but martial posture, with his robe thrown over his left shoulder and arm, leaving the right arm bare to be used in action. His voice was fine. His enunciation remarkably clear, distinct, and rapid. Those who have had the gratification of hearing a distinguished Senator from South Carolina, now in Congress, whose rapidity of utterance, concentration of thought, and conciseness of language are alike peculiar to himself, may form some idea of the style of Keokuk,—the

latter adding, however, an attention to graces of attitude and action to which the former makes no pretension. He spoke with dignity, but with great animation. 'They tell you,' said he, 'that our ears must be bored with sticks, but, my father, you cannot penetrate their thick skulls in that way, it would require a hot iron. They say they would as soon think of making peace with this child as with us (pointing to his son, a lad of about ten years, who accompanied him), but they know better; for when they made war with us they found us men. They tell you that peace has often been made but we have broken it. How happens it, then, that so many of their braves have been slain in our country? I will tell you. They invaded us; we never invaded them. None of my braves have been killed in their country. We have their scalps and can tell where we took them.'"

Having presented something of Indian character, it is interesting to see General Harney's method of dealing with them. The council held by him after the battle of Ash Hollow has been adverted to in the narrative of this book. Some of the minutes of the proceedings, as communicated by the President of the United States, Franklin Pierce, to the Senate and House of Representatives, give a clear insight into the animating spirit on both sides.

There were present delegations from nine of the bands of the Sioux.

The General opened the council by speaking to the Indians through Zephyr Rencontre, as follows:

"I am glad to see you here, according to my request of one hundred days ago. The Ogallalas have not come, and that is the mistake of their agent; they are coming. Big Head has not come, but I did not expect him; I suppose him to be too busy.

"I told the people who were here a hundred days ago that I would write to their Great Father, and perhaps he would say something that might please them; that I would do all I could for them to make them happy.

"Here's what I have to say to them now—what the Great Father has told me to say after I had written to him that the Indians were very humble, and very sorry for what they had done, and would do whatever he told them. Now listen to what the Great Father says."

The treaty was then read and interpreted to the Indians, after which General Harney proceeded as follows:

"The Brules here have done very well; I am very well pleased with their conduct lately. I told them at Laramie that when all the murderers were given up their people who are now our prisoners should be restored to them. There is only two men now to be given up, 'the man who killed the cow,' and 'the one who killed Gibson,' and I hope you have them here now that I can give to the Brules their prisoners. The stolen property can be given up after this; but the women and children of the Brules are crying to go home, and as soon as these two men are delivered up, then these women and children can go with the Brules. When you have done this, and returned all the stolen property of every description, then your annuities will be restored to you. These annuities, hereafter, will always be given out at a military post and nowhere else. Hereafter, that you may have justice done you, and that you may not be imposed on by the traders, all trading will be done at the military posts. This will enable you to get your things at a fair price; you will be dealt with fairly and reasonably; and if the traders don't behave themselves, but try to impose on the Indians, I will send them out of the country.

"I have now told you what the Great Father told me, with his own mouth and his own words, to tell you; and he has left it with me to do anything I think proper with you. What I say is this: The Great Father sent your father, Colonel Vaughan, here to advise you and assist you; but you did not listen to him, but insulted him and behaved very badly, indeed; and this is one great reason the Great Father sent me here to punish you, and I am going to do it. The Sioux are not friends to themselves; and not until they do what is required of them will I be their friend. Do as I tell them and they will find me the best friend they ever had; but if they don't do it, they will find me the worst enemy they ever had."

On the second day, Little Thunder, chief of the Platte Brules, spoke as follows, through the interpreter:

"I came here to see you because you sent for me. I did not know what the manners of the whites are, but I will tell you what I have thought of on my road here. I don't wish to fight you. What I want with you is to shake hands with you and hold your hands hard. All the women and children who were in my lodge, you have them here, but they are alive and I am glad. You took them on the Platte. I was there when I heard that you have called me.

"At the Laramie you called me for five of my men, and I have given them to you. After that you asked me for horses, and I gave them to you. After that I stood there and listened and watched to see if you would call me and deliberate for me. You called me, I heard it, and started to come. The snow was very bad, but I have come, and I am now satisfied you will give me my life. When I left my camp all my men, women and children were waiting for me to return. They expect me to bring our people who are prisoners with me.

"You have asked us to be friendly. I have tried, and if we are not so it is not my fault. My friends that are here have got chiefs. I am not a chief. They can deliberate and see. My friends have heard that you have asked them for two men. I wish I was in their place. I would bring them in. This is all I have to say."

To this speech General Harney replied that he was pleased with what he had said. "Yours was the first band of the Sioux I met when I came to fight, but if I had met any other band it would have been the same. I am sorry it fell so hard upon Little Thunder. From what we had heard I expected to fight them everywhere. Their young men had done a great many bad things, so many that their Great Father had sent his soldiers here. I don't find them as I expected. Their feelings are different from what I expected. There are a great many good men among them, but some bad ones, like other people. I think the great trouble with them is, the young men don't obey their chiefs. If they did that there would be no trouble. As I told them yesterday, their chiefs must be obeyed. These I see here are the principal chiefs of the different bands. I

am satisfied they are all disposed to be friendly and keep at peace with the whites. They can look to me as their friend, and if their people don't obey them I will fight for them and make them obey. I shall always look to these chiefs as the heads of the different bands. I shall not recognize anybody else. If they want any advice or assistance let them come to me. I will not recognize any other chiefs, neither will the father here, or any of the agents. I hope they will all support each other to keep peace with the whites.

"Tell Little Thunder he has done so well that I think he and his people have done enough at present, and I do not ask him to take any hand in bringing in the other two men. The Sioux ought not to expect it; he stood forward between them and the whites, and is the only one who has suffered yet.

"I feel like shaking hands with all the chiefs, particularly Little Thunder; but that is not our way. I have no doubt in a few days, when those men are brought in, I shall be able to do it.

"The stolen animals can be brought in in a reasonable time. Tell Little Thunder that he can have his people that are here to take back with him—(Applause.)

"When we go to war, some of the good have to suffer with the bad, we cannot help it; but some of them among you had better recollect it; I cannot separate the bad from the good; they must do it themselves."

In the proceedings of the fourth day the Yancton chief presented a picture of his own suffering and his action, and showed a dignified and honorable demeanor. He said:

"My brother: I am going to speak, and I believe the Great Spirit will hear me; I am going to speak, the Great Spirit knows it, and has given me a beautiful day. Since we commenced this talk we have not had so beautiful a day. The man who calls himself a man and is not afraid to die, is yourself. I am one also. I think that I am brave, and for my death, I am not afraid of it. What I call my bravery is this: I traveled all day to get here and did not eat or sleep, and the next day and night I did the same. This is what I call brave. As for bravery, I am not afraid to lose my life. This starvation is worse than my bravery.

I was so hungry that when I saw your cattle I could not help eat them, and that's what kept me alive. Let you be as brave as you please, if you starve you will take what you meet with and live.

"I am not going to beg you for my life; I believe I am a man, and I am not going to beg you for my life. I see you here, and your manners and situation are enough to scare any of us; but if I was afraid I would squat down, but I don't. If I do what you tell me, I know I will be well off and well treated.

"You mentioned to me your cattle. Yes! I have eaten twelve of them; but they were on my land. I ate some—the Santees ate some—and the half-breeds ate some; but you counted me one; I ate twelve; on that account you have asked me nineteen horses. If I had been you, I would not have asked for those horses at that time, when they were poor—I would have waited till spring. I got the horses to bring them, but on my way four have died—and again four more have died—and I have only eleven. Do you think your fresh meat is worth more than anything else? Let me know so, and I will bear it. If I had owned the horses, I should not mind; it is not the number I care for; but I havn't got them. I have always done what the father here (Col. Vaughan) has told me. It is very hard. when a man has only one thing to give more than he has got.

"I can't make horses out of the ground; if you are not satisfied, do with me what you please; take my body and sell me—do what you please.

"This is what my heart speaks; I have some young men here yet, who will listen to me."

Later in the conference the same chief explained his action more fully, and General Harney knew him to be speaking truth, and treated him magnanimously:

"I don't want to tell no lies; I want to tell the truth. 'Twas Little Provost; he told me there was an ox thrown away; to go after it and eat it. My young men started, but it was so wild they had to kill it."

The General then said: "I know he was hungry; but the Great Father can't give the cattle he wants for his soldiers to everybody. I thought the troops that went down

to your country would have plenty of fresh meat; that you would save it for them; but they had nothing. It is not for the value of the cattle; but we want them now to give to your people here. But that's a small matter; he did not try to hide it, but came out and acted like a man. I would have been better pleased if they had kept some of them."

The-man-that-is-struck-by-the-Ree then said that his people did not take all the cattle; that a half-breed by the name of Sizzieodore, son of old Dorion, took two; "they have sent me a letter on that account. Sizzieodore left us and started to go west among the Brules; I don't know where."

The General said: "I want 'Little Thunder' to make him go away from the Brules; and if he don't, and I catch him in the country, I'll hang him. 'Tis men like that who set so bad an example to the Indians. I won't have such men among the Indians. He says he got but twelve cattle. I only want him to settle for twelve. He should have told me so before."

The-man-that-is-struck-by-the-Ree said his people had only killed nine. Sizzieodore two; and a Frenchman one.

The General said: "As far as he is concerned that is all settled. I know what it is to be hungry; and I can look over a great deal.

"As to his making peace with the Pawnees. I don't want him to make peace, if the Pawnees strike him after I speak to them. I will go with him myself, and all he is to do is to show me the trail.

"I ask you to make this peace, as it is for the benefit of all of us; and if any violate it, they will have me on their backs, and they will find me a hard load to carry. The Cheyennes will also have to behave themselves."

The same chief, later on, very happily sums up some of the abuses of Indian management:

"I believe to-day you wish to give me the life. You pick out the poorest man you have and send him up here to give us our goods.

"When an agent comes here he is poor, but he gets rich, and after he gets rich he goes away and another poor one

comes. Now there's a great many white men, but there are some thieves among them. I say so, but this father here (Colonel Vaughan) I wish him to stay and be our father, and I wish to let you know; for if you send another I shall be afraid of him. I will tell him I don't know him."

General Harney's views of Indian management, and the truthfulness and good faith of the Indians, is well put in his testimony before the House committee on Indian Affairs. That testimony tells its own story:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 4, 1874.

General Harney appeared before the committee in response to its invitation.

The CHAIRMAN. State the length and extent of your military service on the Indian frontier.

General HARNEY. The greater portion of my military service has been on the frontier, among the Indians.

Q. What military department or division did you command? A. I never had the command of a division.

Q. At what points in the present Indian country did you serve? A. From Florida to Dakota.

Q. How long since you have been in command? A. It is some ten or twelve years since I have been retired from active service.

Q. State with what Indian tribes you were brought in contact as a military officer? A. Principally with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and all the Indians of the plains, and the Florida Indians. I was very intimately acquainted with the Sioux for a great many years, and have been stationed among the Winnebagoes, Menomonees, and other Indians.

Q. The question has been discussed as to the management of Indian tribes by the army, and as you have had great experience in command of the army on the frontier, the committee desires to have your opinion as to whether the army can manage Indian affairs better than, or equally as well as, the Indian Bureau? A. I think decidedly it can, and better.

Q. Give your reasons. A. The Indians have more respect for the military, and more fear of them, and there would be less stealing. I must use plain words; I have

seen so much of it, that I know the Indians are robbed continually. That, I think, is pretty well known, and I assert it positively. I know it of my own knowledge. That is the principal cause of Indian difficulties, I think. In fact, if we would keep our treaty stipulations with the Indians we would have no trouble with them. The Indians do not violate their treaty stipulations, except when they are driven to it by the whites.

Q. Do you think that it is the disposition of the Indian tribes to observe treaty stipulations? A. Yes; I have never known but two instances in which they violated treaties. One was the case of the Sacs and Foxes, and the other the case of the Seminoles in Florida. They were treated with, and were to have gone west, but the Government did not require them to comply with the conditions of the treaty for many years, and by the time they were required to go west all the leading men who had made the treaty were dead, and the Indians of that day said that they were not going to obey a treaty which was made by "a parcel of old women." It was the same thing with the Sacs and Foxes. Ignorant as they were, there was some excuse for them, but still they were punished. We were fighting the Seminoles for about seven years.

Q. Are these Indian wars incited by the settlers, or are they brought about by the army? A. I never heard of any difficulty being brought about by the army. It is principally the whisky sellers and the Indian agents that make the difficulty. The Indian agents go out there to feather their own nests. Agents should never open a tierce, box, or any package till the Indians are all present to witness the operation. This would prevent any difficulty or trouble to the agents.

Q. Of how many Indian agents have you such an intimate knowledge that you can speak advisedly of their character? A. I cannot say how many. I have been a good deal among the Indians, and have been often present when goods were issued to them, but I had nothing to do with it.

Q. You have had experience when the Indian tribes were under the management of the War Department, and you have had experience since they have been under the

management of the Interior Department. Now, I would like to know your opinion as to which of these Departments is qualified to take care and have general control of the Indians. A. The army; there is no doubt about that at all. There cannot be any stealing in the army.

Q. From your knowledge of the Indian character, do you believe that those people are to be controlled in any way except by fear of punishment? A. Yes, sir; kind treatment and *justice* can do it. They know what *justice* is, and they want it. If they are treated with *justice* we will never have any trouble with them.

Q. Then it is your experience that the trouble grows out of the stealing of their annuity-goods? A. Yes, sir, principally; and out of whisky-selling.

Q. How can you prevent the introduction of whisky among the Indians? A. If the commanding officer is worth a cent he can prevent it.

Q. How would you do it? A. I would hang the whisky-sellers or shoot them. They are the very worst class of people on the frontier.

Q. While the hanging process is going on, would it not be well to hang the men who steal the annuity-goods too? A. Decidedly.

Q. Was he an officer of the army? A. Oh, no, sir; Indian agents are generally called majors.

Q. Would it be safe to arm the settlers and let them take care of the frontiers? A. I do not think it would.

Q. Do you think if you could rid the country of whisky-sellers there would be no difficulty in the main? A. If you do that and do *justice* to the Indians at the same time, you will have no trouble.

Q. As between fighting them and giving them kind treatment, which would you say was the preferable course? A. Kind treatment in the first place; then if we comply with our treaty stipulations, we will have no difficulty at all with them.

Q. What do you think as to the policy of getting them on reservations, and taking good care of them? A. I have been in favor of it always. If the Indians had been treated properly, I do not think there would ever have been any difficulty.

Q. State whether, in your opinion, the Government now furnishes supplies enough to comply with the treaties. A. I think that the Government does, if the Indians could get them.

Q. Do you think that the Indians are now getting their full supplies under the treaties? A. I cannot say. I have been on the retired list ten or twelve years.

Q. Is the policy of justice being carried out or not? A. I have had very little intercourse with the Indians lately, and I cannot tell. But I suppose we would not have had so much trouble with them if we had done them justice.

Q. Have you been among the Indians for the last twelve years, so that, from your personal knowledge of Indian agents, you are able to make a statement as to their honesty? A. Yes; after I was placed on the retired list, I was kept on duty for three or four years.

Q. Then, for the last eight years, since the Government peace policy has been carried on, you have had no personal knowledge of Indian agents? A. Not since I left the Indian country, and that was in 1866 or 1868, I think.

Q. Then your statement a little while ago that the Indian agents steal did not apply to Indian agents within the last eight years? A. I did not mean to say that they *all* steal; there may be many of them honest.

Q. But you meant that statement to have reference to a period prior to 1868? A. Yes, sir, and in 1868.

Q. You were a member of the Indian peace commission in 1868? A. Yes, sir; I am not positive as to the date; it was between '66 and '68, I believe.

Q. There were three army officers on that commission besides yourself? A. Yes, sir; General Sherman, General Augur, and General Terry.

Q. You visited the Indian country during the time you were on that peace commission? Yes; we made treaties with them in different places.

Q. From the investigations that you made at that time, did you come to the conclusion that the Indians were the wronged parties, or that the wars and troubles which had arisen with the Indians were caused by white men? A. Decidedly so.

Q. What was that affair?

Q. You said that this cow had given out and had been abandoned?

Q. From your investigations on this peace commission you came to the conclusion that our Indian wars had resulted from outrages perpetrated upon the Indians? A. I think I would be safe in saying that nine cases in ten. I am satisfied that if the Indians were to receive *justice* there would be no trouble. There ought to be some way of preventing whisky-selling out of the Indian country.

Q. Have you had any experience with Indian tribes beyond the Rocky Mountains? A. I was sent to Washington Territory by the Government to pursue the Indians of various tribes. It was thought we were to have a general Indian war with them, but the matter was settled before I arrived.

Q. What year was that? A. That was about 1858 or 1860, I think.

Q. You do not know how that war was brought on, do you? A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. From your knowledge of the facts that you obtained after you arrived in the country, do you not recollect that it was through the murder of the Indian agent by the Indians that the war was brought on? A. I forget now; it was over when I arrived there. I was sent over to punish them, and I would have done it. Of course I intended to make a winter campaign against them.

Q. The question has come up as to the kind of troops that are most valuable to fight against the Indians. What is your judgment as to that? Is infantry needed as much as cavalry, or can cavalry be used alone against the Indians with better advantage? A. The cavalry alone can pursue them and catch them.

Q. There is a double garrison at all of those post on the frontier, about the same number of infantry as of cavalry, and some question has been raised whether as much infantry as cavalry was needed at those frontier posts. A. I think it is absolutely necessary to have some infantry at each post.

Q. You stated a moment ago that you wanted army officers to take charge of these matters, because soldiers never steal. A. I mean officers. The common soldiers

have nothing to do with it; but there are exceptions of course among officers.

Q. Human nature is so much the same, that, removed from the restraints of civilization and subjected to great temptation, would not army officers and Indian agents be pretty much on the same level; that is, there would be exceptions among both classes? A. Certainly, but proper officers would be selected—it cannot be so with agents.

Q. You do not mean to admit that army officers would be as liable to steal as Indian agents: you mean to stick to what you said, that army officers would be better disbursing agents and managers than Indian agents would be? A. Certainly.

Q. As a class, are they more honest than Indian agents? A. Why, of course.

Q. Is your comparison with Indian agents twenty years ago? A. I do not think they were as corrupt then as they are now.

Q. The proposition is to introduce the arts of civilized life among the Indians; to reform and educate them; to teach them agriculture and the mechanic arts. Do you think that the army could do that as well as civil employes of the government? A. If the army officers had orders they would obey them, I think.

Q. Do you think that they would be as well qualified to carry out that branch of the Indian service as civilians are? A. They would not act as teachers, but they would superintend all these things, and they would do it better than civilians, because they would have no interest except to do their duty.

General Harney was appointed a member of the Indian Peace Commission in 1865, and visited the Indians for the last time on the waters of the Platte River, and in the region of the Black Hills. On the return of the Commission to St. Louis, General Harney was given *carte blanche* authority to make some purchases of goods for the Indians, and in the absence of special instructions from Washington he proceeded to make out an inventory of goods, such as he had decided the Indians required, and made the purchases, amounting to near $1,000,000, and sent them away.

The authorities at Washington, knowing the honor and good judgment of General Harney, approved of his work and paid the bills.

While in council at the Platte bridge, an incident of note occurred. Without any reference to the deliberations, an elderly Indian woman passed the crowd, and on reaching General Harney, took him by the hand, and shook it freely, and said to the General, "You were a friend of my father."

The General was unable to identify her, but received her greetings with satisfaction. Meanwhile the entire proceedings of the Commission ceased until the meeting of the old war chief and the old Indian matron ended.

RELIGION, TRADITIONS, POETRY.

It has been said that man, when he first distinguished himself from the animal, was religious; that is to say, he saw something beyond reality, and for himself something beyond death. This feeling, for thousands of years, wandered about in the strangest way. With many races it never went beyond a belief in sorceries, in the crude form in which we still find it in certain parts of Oceanica. With some the religious sentiment culminated in the shameful scenes of butchery which characterized the ancient religion in Mexico; with others, especially in Africa, it reached pure fetishism, or the adoration of a natural object to which were attributed supernatural powers. The religions of Babylonia and Syria never extricated themselves from a basis of amazing sensuality. The first intentions of the Indo-European race were essentially naturalistic, but it was a deep moral naturalism, a loving embrace of nature by man, a delicious poetry full of the feeling of the Infinite, the principle of all that German and Celtic genius, of what a Shakespeare, of what a Goethe was afterwards to express. The Greek attempt at reform did not suffice to give solid aliment to souls. Persia alone succeeded in forming a religion almost monotheistic, and wisely organized, but

Persia did not convert the world. She was, on the contrary, converted on her frontiers to the banner of divine unity proclaimed by Islam. Far beyond the confines of history, under his tent, remaining pure from the disorders of a world already corrupt, the Bedouin patriarch prepared the faith of the world.

When we come to try the North American Indian by our own high standard, we find that he had made religious advances that surprise us. He had almost succeeded in shaking off all grossness and sensuality, and worshiped his one Great Spirit as a benignant and all-powerful creator. When the Christian scheme was unfolded before him, he embraced Christianity with childlike purity and trust. Had it not been for the rapid settlement of this country by the whites, it is quite possible that they might, as a race, have become converted to Christianity, and slowly passed from the barbarous to the pastoral state, and eventually have become an agricultural and civilized Christian people.

HIAWATHA.

The distinctive characteristics of Indian thought present themselves in all their purity and strength in the legend of Hiawatha. He was to the Six Nations what Moses was to the Jews, or Confucius to the Chinese. He may even have lived before the time of Moses and been a contemporary of Sanconiathon. The tradition, which was strong and clear-cut, was gathered from the verbal narrations of Abraham Le Fort, an Onandaga chief, who was a graduate of Geneva College, as follows:

Tarenyawago taught the Six Nations arts and knowledge. He had a canoe which would move without paddles. It was only necessary to will it to compel it to go. He taught the people to raise corn and beans, removed obstructions from their water courses, and made their fishing grounds clear. He helped them to get the mastery

over the great monsters which overran the country, and so prepared the forests for the hunters. His wisdom was as great as his power, and the people listened to him with admiration and followed his advice gladly. There was nothing in which he did not excel good hunters, brave warriors and eloquent orators.

He gave them wise instruction for observing the laws and maxims of the Great Spirit. Having done these things, he laid aside the high powers of his public mission and resolved to set them an example of how they should live. For this purpose he selected a beautiful spot on the shore of a small lake, which is still called Tioto (Cross Lake). Here he erected his lodge, planted his field of corn, kept by him his magic canoe, and selected a wife.

In relinquishing his former position as a subordinate power to the Great Spirit, he also dropped his name and took that of Hiawatha, meaning a person of very great wisdom, which the people spontaneously bestowed upon him.

When Hiawatha assumed the duties of an individual at Tioto, he drew out of the water his beautiful talismanic canoe, which he never used except on journeys to attend the general councils. He had been elected to become a member of the Onondaga tribe, and chose the residence of this people in their fruitful valley.

After the termination of his higher mission from above, years passed away in prosperity, and the Onondagas assumed an elevated rank for their wisdom and learing among the other tribes, and there was not one of these that did not yield its assent to their high privilege of lighting the general council fire.

Suddenly there arose a great alarm at the invasion of a ferocious band of warriors from north of the Great Lakes. As they advanced an indiscriminate slaughter was made of men, women and children. Destruction threatened to be alike the fate of those who boldly resisted or quietly sub-

mitted. The public alarm was extreme. Hiawatha advised them not to waste their efforts in a desultory manner, but to call a general council of all the tribes that could be gathered together from the east to the west, and he appointed the meeting to take place on the banks of the Onondaga Lake.

Accordingly all the chief men assembled at this spot. The occasion brought together vast multitudes of men, women and children, for there was an expectation of some great deliverance. Three days had already elapsed, and there began to be a general anxiety lest Hiawatha should not arrive. Messengers were despatched for him to Tioto, who found him in a pensive mood, to whom he communicated his strong presentiments that evil betided his attendance. These were overruled by the strong representations of the messengers, and he again put his wonderful vessel in its element, and set out for the council, taking his only daughter with him. She timidly took her seat in the stern with a light paddle, to give direction to the vessel; for the strength of the current of the Seneca River was sufficient to give velocity to the motion till arriving at So-ha-hi, the Onondaga outlet. At this point the powerful exertions of the aged chief were required till they entered on the bright bosom of the Onondaga.

The grand council that was to avert the threatened danger, was quickly in sight, and sent up shouts of welcome as the venerated man approached and landed in front of the assemblage. An ascent led up the banks of the lake to the place occupied by the council. As he walked up this, a loud sound was heard in the air above, as if caused by some rushing current of wind. Instantly the eyes of all were directed upward to the sky, where a spot of matter was discovered descending rapidly, and every instant enlarging in its size and velocity. Terror and alarm were the first impulses, for it appeared to be descending into their midst, and they scattered in confusion.

Hiawatha, as soon as he had gained the eminence, stood still, and caused his daughter to do the same; deeming it cowardly to fly, and impossible, if it were attempted, to divert the designs of the Great Spirit.

The descending object had now assumed a more definite aspect, and as it came down, revealed the shape of a gigantic white bird, with wide, extended and pointed wings, which came down swifter and swifter, with a mighty swoop, and crushed the girl to the earth. Not a muscle was moved in the face of Hiawatha. His daughter lay dead before him, but the great and mysterious white bird was also destroyed by the shock. Such had been the violence of the concussion, that it had completely buried its beak and head in the ground. But the most wonderful sight was the carcass of the prostrated bird, which was covered with beautiful plumes of snow-white, shining feathers. Each warrior stepped up and decorated himself with a plume. And hence it became a custom to assume this kind of feathers on the war-path. Succeeding generations substituted the plumes of the white heron, which led this bird to be greatly esteemed.

But yet a greater wonder ensued. On removing the carcass of the bird, not a human trace could be discovered of the daughter; she had completely vanished. At this the father was greatly afflicted in spirit, and disconsolate, but he roused himself, as from a lethargy, and walked to the head of the council with a dignified air, covered with a simple robe of wolf-skins; taking his seat with the chief warriors and counsellors, and listening with attentive gravity to the plans of the different speakers. One day was given to these discussions; on the next day he arose and said: "My friends and brothers: You are members of many tribes, and have come from a great distance. We have met to promote the common interest, and our safety. How shall it be accomplished? To oppose these Northern hordes in tribes singly, while we are at variance often with

each other, is impossible. By uniting in a common band of brotherhood, we may hope to succeed. Let this be done, and we shall drive the enemy from our land. Listen to me, my tribes.

"You (the Mohawks), who are sitting under the shadow of the Great Tree, whose roots sink deep in the earth, and whose branches spread wide around, shall be the first nation because you are warlike and mighty.

"You (the Oneidas), who recline your bodies against the everlasting stone that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you always give wise counsel.

"You (the Onondagas), who have your habitation at the foot of the great hills, and are overshadowed by their crags, shall be the third nation, because you are all greatly gifted in speech.

"You (the Senecas), whose dwelling is in the Dark Forest, and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting.

"And you (the Cayugas), the people who live in the open country, and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making houses.

"Unite, you five nations, and have one common interest, and no foe shall disturb or subdue you. You, the people who are as the feeble bushes, and you, who are a fishing people, may place yourselves under our protection, and we will defend you. And you, of the South and of the West, may do the same, and we will protect you. We earnestly desire the alliance and friendship of you all.

"Brothers, if we unite in this great bond, the Great Spirit will smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy. But if we remain as we are, we shall be subject to his frown. We shall be enslaved, ruined, perhaps annihilated. We may perish under the war-storm, and our names be no longer remembered by good men, nor be repeated in the dance song.

"Brothers, these are the words of Hiawatha. I have said it. I am done."

The next day the plan of union was again considered, and adopted by the council. Conceiving this to be the accomplishment of his mission to the Iroquois, the tutelar patron of this rising confederacy addressed them in a speech, elaborate with wise counsels, and then announced his withdrawal to the skies. At its conclusion he went down to the shore, and assumed his seat in his mystical vessel. Sweet music was heard in the air at the same moment, and its cadence floated in the ears of the wondering multitude; it rose in the air, higher and higher till it vanished from the sight, and disappeared in the celestial regions inhabited only by Owayneo and his hosts.

This story of the origin and mission of Hiawatha may be regarded as one of the most beautiful narratives to be found in pre-historic romance; and it is a matter of no little concern to the American people that the greatest part of the new world has regaled this story with more classic beauty and lifted it to a higher place in literature than was ever given to Grecian, Roman or Icelandic mythology.

And if we are to believe the tradition, the mission of Hiawatha was more important, of wider range, of more varied use, than ever before discharged by Egyptian, Persian, Jewish, Grecian or Roman teacher or benefactor, and when contrasted with these, well may the savage hunter, taught by Hiawatha, say, in reference to the life of the pale faces:

"I hate these classic walls,
I hate the Grecian poet's song."

The departure of Hiawatha from his people, after having filled so important a mission, is so full of suggestion and thought for civilized man, that we give place to Longfellow to describe this great event:

"Forth into the village went he,
Bade farewell to all the warriors,
Bade farewell to all the young men,
Spake persuading, spake in this wise:
'I am going, O my people,
On a long and distant journey;
Many moons and many winters
Will have come, and will have vanished,
Ere I come again to see you.
But my guests I leave behind me;
Listen to their words of wisdom,
Listen to the truth they tell you,
For the Master of Life has sent them
From the land of light and morning!'
On the shore stood Hiawatha,
Turned and waved his hand at parting;
On the clear and luminous water
Launched his birch canoe for sailing,
From the pebbles of the margin
Shoved it forth into the water;
Whispered to it, 'Westward! westward!'
And with speed it darted forward.
And the evening sun descending
Set the clouds on fire with redness,
Burned the broad sky, like a prairie,
Left upon the level water
One long track and trail of splendor,
Down whose stream, as down a river,
Westward, westward Hiawatha
Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapors,
Sailed into the dusk of evening.
And the people from the margin
Watched him floating, rising, sinking,
Till the birch canoe seemed lifted
High into that sea of splendor,
Till it sank into the vapors
Like the new moon slowly, slowly
Sinking in the purple distance."

Hiawatha had finished his work among his people below, and henceforth there was for him a crown laid up in the island of the blessed, the legend of which follows.

Where do we find among savages a more beautiful and pure-minded allegory than in the legend of

THE ISLAND OF THE BLESSED; OR THE HUNTER'S DREAM?

There was once a beautiful girl, who died suddenly on the day she was to have been married to a handsome young hunter. He had also proved his bravery in war, so that he enjoyed the praises of his tribe, but his heart was not proof against this loss. From the hour she was buried there was no more joy or peace for him. He went often to visit the spot where her people had buried her, and sat musing there when it was thought by some of his friends he would have done better to have tried to amuse himself in the chase or diverted himself in the war-path. But war and hunting had lost their charms for him. His heart was already dead. He wholly neglected both his war-clubs and his bows and arrows.

He had heard old people say there was a path that led to the land of souls, and he determined to follow it. He set out one morning, after making preparations for his journey, and being guided by tradition solely, knew that he must go south. For a time he could see no change in the face of the country. Forests and streams and valleys had the same look that they wore in his native place. There was snow on the ground when he set out, and it was sometimes seen to be piled and matted on the thick trees and bushes. At length it began to diminish, and as he walked on finally disappeared. The forest assumed a more cheerful appearance, the leaves put forth their buds, and before he was aware of the completeness of the change he found he had left behind him the land of snow and ice. The air became pure and mild, the dark clouds rolled away from the sky, a pure field of blue was above him, and as he went forward on his journey he saw flowers beside his path and heard the song of birds. By these signs he knew that he was going the right way, for they agreed with the traditions of his tribe. At length he spied a path. It took him through a grove and then up a long and elevated ridge, on

the very top of which he came to a lodge. At the door stood an old man with white hair, whose eyes, though deeply sunk, had a fiery brilliancy. He had a long roll of skins thrown over his shoulders and a staff in his hands.

The young man began to tell his story, but the venerable chief arrested him before he had proceeded to speak ten words. "I have expected you," he replied, "and had just risen to welcome you to my abode. She whom you seek passed here but a short time since, and, being fatigued with her journey, rested herself here. Enter my lodge and be seated, and I will then satisfy your inquiries and give you directions for your journey from this point." Having done this, and refreshed himself by rest, they both issued forth from the lodge door. "You see yonder gulf," said the old man, "and a wide stretching plain beyond: it is the land of souls. You stand upon its borders, and my lodge is the gate of entrance. But you cannot take your body along. Leave it here with your bow and arrows, your bundle and your dog. You will find them safe on your return." So saying, he re-entered the lodge, and the freed traveler bounded forward as if his feet had suddenly been endowed with the power of wings. But all things retained their natural colors and shapes. The woods and trees and leaves, and streams and lakes, were only more bright and comely than he had ever witnessed. Animals bounded across his path with a freedom and confidence that seemed to tell him there was no blood shed there. Birds of beautful plumage inhabited the groves and sported in the waters. There was but one thing in which he saw a very unusual effect. He noticed that his passage was not stopped by trees or other objects. He seemed to walk directly through them. They were in fact but the images or shadows of material forms. He became sensible that he was in the land of souls.

When he had traveled half a day's journey through a country which was continually becoming more attractive,

he came to the banks of a broad lake in which was a large and beautiful island. He found a canoe of white shining stone tied to the shore. He was now sure he had come to the right path, for the aged man told him of this. There were also shining paddles. He immediately entered the canoe and took the paddles in his hands, when, to his joy and surprise, on turning around, he beheld the object of his search in another canoe, exactly its counterpart in every thing. It seemed to be the shadow of his own. She had exactly imitated his motions, and they were side by side. They at once pushed out from the shore and began to cross the lake. Its waves seemed to be rising, and at a distance looked ready to swallow them up, but just as they entered the whitened edge of them they seemed to melt away as if they were but the images of waves. But no sooner was one wreath of foam passed than another, more threatening still, rose up. Thus they were in perpetual fear, but what added to it was the clearness of the water through which they could see heaps of the bones of beings who had perished before.

The Master of Life had, however, decreed to let them pass, for the thoughts and acts of neither of them had been bad. But they saw many others struggling and sinking in the waves. Old men and young men, males and females of all ages and ranks were there; some passed and some sank. It was only the little children whose canoes seemed to meet no waves. At length every difficulty was gone as in a moment, and they both leaped out on the happy island. They felt that the very air was food. It strengthened and nourished them. They wandered together over the blissful fields, where everything was formed to please the eye and the ear. There were no tempests, there was no ice nor chilly winds, no one shivered for the want of warm clothes, no one suffered from hunger, no one mourned for the dead. They saw no graves, they heard of no wars. Animals ran freely about, for there was no blood

spilled in hunting them, for the air itself nourished them. Gladly would the young warrior have remained there forever, but he was obliged to go back for his body. He did not see the Master of Life, but he heard a voice, as if it were a soft breeze. "Go back," said the voice, "to the land whence you came. Your time has not yet come. The duties for which I made you, and which you are to perform, are not yet finished. Return to your people and accomplish the acts of a good man. You will be the ruler of your tribe for many days. The rules you are to observe will be told you by my messenger, who keeps the gate; when he surrenders back your body, he will tell you what to do. Listen to him and you shall afterwards rejoin the spirit you have followed, but whom you must now leave behind. She is accepted and will be ever here as young and as happy as she was when I first called her from the land of snows." When this voice ceased the narrator awoke. It was the fancy-work of a dream, and he was still in the bitter land of snows and hunger, death and tears.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RECOLLECTIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND INCIDENTS.

GENERAL HARNEY is one of the most conspicuous, as he is also one of the most interesting monuments of the military history of our country during the first half of the nineteenth century. His military life began at a time when daring pirates infested the waters about the mouth of the Mississippi, when the peninsula of Florida was still a Spanish possession, and when civilization was struggling against barbarism, far to the eastward of the great river. At the Centennial anniversary of American Independence, the military achievements of our citizens may properly and naturally be divided into three periods, each distinctly marked, and each guided by men of different schools of thought and of action. The first period, which covers the Revolution and the subsequent struggle which the initial force of its policy led up to, was controlled by men collected from all nations, and from every avocation. A great idea had but one field upon which it could find a satisfactory solution, and the genius of the world was collected upon our shores to give embodiment to the darling hope of centuries. All were earnest, most were heroic; yet they became congruous only through the unity of a thought to which recorded history has furnished no parallel. They were all patriots, and some of them were soldiers. They organized such forces as they could command, and our Republic was the fruit of their devotion. On occasions when their skill might have been questioned, the purity of their motives silenced all criticism. Their services have crystallized into history, which it is our most pleasant duty to preserve and honor.

In the second period, our military operations were directed by professional soldiers. The early heroes, profiting by their own experience and the teachings of history, were the founders of a system under which the flower of the youth of the Republic were educated to the profession of arms. The system was one which all human experience approved, and one for which no adequate substitute can ever be devised. It gave to the nation a body of officers skilled in the science and art of war, whose habits of thought, accuracy of judgment, and promptness of action, made them in a very considerable measure the counsellors of statesmen, as they were also the custodians of the national honor. Entirely divorced from the operations of trade and the machinery of politics by their education, their life and their ambitions, their judgment was not warped by any of the considerations which are so potent in civil life. Beneath each uniform was the heart of a paladin in action, of an unselfish intelligence in council. To the system rather than the individuals that composed it, are to be attributed the peculiarities presented by its members.

These are the men who in our army and navy carried the flag of the nation with honor; who in general applied, when they did not direct, the policy of our intercourse with the nations of the old world, and our neighbors in this. They were frequently called upon to decide nice questions of diplomacy and international law, in situations where blunders would have magnified into crimes; yet the uniformly high character of those decisions is a proper subject for national pride. Our intercourse with the Indians, whether friendly or hostile, was almost entirely in their hands; and when exceptionally not so, it was a matter of regret. They faced the brave aborigines of North America for half a century—a people of keen discernment and the highest genius for war that has been developed by any native race in the world. Using force with prudence, yet preferring conciliation when it did not conflict with justice,

they commanded the respect and admiration of their enemies, as well as of their own people. Their picket line on the frontier was the protection of civilization against the vengeance of the Indians and the rapacity of the Mexicans.

This, the second period of our military history, may be said to have ended with the opening of the civil war. New men, with questionable claims to preferment, were placed in command of men, simply because armies were too numerous to be officered by professional soldiers. Politics and intrigue united also with military reasons in shaping a military policy. Armies were formed in which men and officers were equally ignorant of the business of war, and it took time to acquire that discipline which alone can make valor formidable to civilized man.

It is with the second of these periods that General Harney is identified. For nearly half a century he wore his country's uniform, and through all bore himself with dignity and distinguished honor and ability. His record has already passed into history with the period to which it belongs, and is now, so far as it goes, secure from the danger of being misunderstood.

The long and active life which he has led has brought him into more or less intimate association with many of the most brilliant and distinguished men and women of America and Europe, and the recollections of these associations furnish a pleasing solace to the meditation of the veteran soldier. He began camp life with Jackson and Jesup for his earliest friends. Jackson was then at the height of his splendid military fame, and was interested and pleased with the dash and enthusiasm of his favorite protege, whom he had known from his childhood. Harney in turn reciprocated the friendship and love of his patron, and looked up to him as a model for emulation.

General Jesup, who had been struck by the soldierly bearing of the youth, and who had procured his commission for him without solicitation and while he was on a

visit at Baton Rouge, was also an object of his sincere attachment. A few years later when the two faced common dangers in the everglades and swamps of Florida, where savage foes lurked in every thicket, and where many bloody battles were fought, this attachment grew stronger, and still remains undimmed in General Harney's breast. General Gaines, who was a professional soldier before this century commenced, and a man who won every step of his promotion, was one of his friends, and he served in the military family of that officer as an aid-de-camp for some time. The relations between Harney and General Harrison were also of the most intimate character. Although the relations between Harney and General Scott never partook of personal regard and were sometimes marked by bitterness, General Scott often committed to his charge some of the most important duties on the battle-field, and promptly recognized his services in a public manner. On the other hand, General Harney, waiving all questions of personal matters, was ever outspoken in bearing testimony to the high soldierly qualities and abilities of Scott.

He and Taylor were good friends. In 1821 he met Lafitte in New Orleans. Although there was no personal acquaintance, they had learned to know each other, and the amnested freebooter was perfectly aware that Harney had dealt him a hard blow in capturing some vessels belonging to his men. On passing in the streets in New Orleans, they would eye each other, and sometimes, when at a distance, would be seen to turn and look back. There was manifestly a spirit of jealousy between the two, and something of a feeling of regret that hostilities were closed; something, too, of that rivalry and pride with which two mastiffs survey each other when they rush to the contest for supremacy. The ex-pirate chief was a hero among his friends, who thought his record a worthy, as well as a heroic one. When at this distance we look back calmly on Lafitte's career and strip it as well as we can from the

stigma cast upon it by enemies, and the false coloring of friends, and consider the chaotic condition of nationalities on this continent and the fashion for privateering, which, in many cases, was scarcely to be distinguished even by courtly eyes from piracy, we see that the odium heaped upon Lafitte is not deserved. His virtues were at least equal to his crimes, if such they were; his faults were those of that age, and were not as debasing as rigid moralists would now have us believe. His family had suffered severely from the cruelty and rapacity of Spanish power and Spanish rule. He was a Frenchman, and Spain was his personal enemy, made so by persecutions of his family, which he resolved in early life to resent in his manhood. It is true that he made American waters and American soil a place of refuge and a vantage ground from which to strike his heaviest blows and to satisfy his unquenchable hatred, yet by his friends he is said to have possessed the devotion of the patriot, the ardor of the warrior, the fidelity of the friend, the loyalty and truth of the man of honor.

Another man who was a warm friend of Harney, and with whom he was for a time associated in his dealings with the Indians, was that distinguished divine, Rev. P. J. De Smet, S. J. Father De Smet commanded more respect and love among the Indians than any other divine of this century. His labors had been constant and extended among them, and he spoke their various dialects with facility. He was with them in their daily life, and had shared their privations and their joys. They looked up to him as a friend and benefactor, and he sought their good by every means which his superior learning and knowledge of the world made available. Long before General Harney made his expedition to the Black Hills Father De Smet had lived there with the Indians. On one occasion while there an incident occurred which displayed the Christian spirit of the man. An Indian girl brought him a bright, yellow pebble about the size of a quail's egg, and very heavy,

which she found in the bed of a stream, and asked him what it was. As soon as the Father weighed it in his hand, he said to her and a few other wonderers who stood around, in the Sioux dialect:

"My daughters, that is the white man's money. There is nothing in this world the white man loves so much as he does that; for its possession he will go on long journeys, where his feet have never trod before; he will be brave, and risk his life for it; no dangers will stop him from going where he thinks it can be found; for it he makes peace and he makes war; with it he buys everything he needs or desires; it brings him fine houses and horses, and all he wishes to eat or to wear. He must never know you found this shining pebble here; you must never tell where or how you got it. If you do the white man will hear of it, and they will come in like the grasshopper clouds, and take your beautiful country from you."

This is the utterance of a man who, born a nobleman in the land where wealth and honors are coveted, he had abandoned the honors and fortune of his inheritance, and with the cross and without scrip had directed his steps to the new world to devote his life to the cause of the Indians on two continents. And be it said to the lasting honor of this man, that the purity of his character, his unselfish devotion to his philanthropic convictions, and the religious life he led, had made the black gown and the cross the shield of his life among savage tribes.

Of the many scholars, travelers, writers, celebrities and eminent men whom General Harney has freely met and whose friendship he has enjoyed may be enumerated as a part, Henry Schoolcraft, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, George Catlin, the son of Audubon the naturalist, Bonneville, Gilpin, Kit Carson, all explorers and frontiersmen and the ornament of the society of every section. Among his friends were the wife and the son of Alexander Hamilton, of whom he speaks with great admiration and regard, both for their personal qualities and the associations that cling around "the principal and most confidential aid of Washington."

The trusted chieftain always stands close to the execu-

tive head of the government, and General Harney has been the friend and adviser of every President, from Monroe down, through his public life. President Pierce trusted him as he trusted no other soldier. In another phase of public life he mentions with respect and kindness Greeley and Sumner, and Butler and Banks, Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, Senators Benton and Linn, of Missouri, Sam Houston and Davy Crockett, and Cassius M. Clay. These are but a few of the many public men who treated him with courtesy, honored his judgment, and held him in high esteem. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis are spoken of by him with great regard, as being friends of his early and of his later life.

In Cuba he met and became acquainted with Fanny Ellsler, the celebrated French dancer, and renewed that acquaintance in New York City. The friendship was woven between the two, and the admiration reciprocal. Cora Montgomery, a writer of considerable talents and the author of several books, the most quoted of which is "The Queen of Islands and the King of Rivers," was a lady whose society he enjoyed in Florida. Madame Octavia LeVert, a lady whose talents and charms are known to a large portion of the American people, and whose personal recollections were varied and romantic, was one of his staunch friends and admirers.

In the wanderings and vicissitudes of a long life, the recollections of childhood still remain as the freshest spots to which the memory reverts, and neither weary years nor the fragility of human things can so becloud the mind or weaken the sensibilities as to take away the fond recollections of youth when green pastures, running brooks and school-boy days come and go like phantom moments in the life of the pioneer boy. Of those who were kindred and friends of General Harney in his youth, but one who grew up side by side with General Harney, still remains on this side of the eternal world. General E. G. W.

Butler remains a bright connecting link between the present and the past, and furnishes some recollections that none other could give:

1529 Lucas Place,
St. Louis, May 20, 1878.

My Dear Sir:

Your note has just been handed to me, and I proceed to reply to it, in compliance with your request, and according to my understanding of its interest and meaning.

Tho' previously acquainted, General Harney and myself were brought together as inmates of the family and students under the late learned and Rev. Thomas Craighead, a Scotch Divine, and brother-in-law of Hon. James Brown, Senator from Louisiana, and Dr. Sam Brown, of Kentucky; where we remained till my departure for West Point, in the autumn of 1816. He was a warm-hearted, brave, impulsive, generous and affectionate boy, and devoted friend; and his after distinguished military career is but the sequel of such honorable characteristics. His father resided in the immediate neighborhood of Parson Craighead; and I, (then the ward of Andrew Jackson, having lost my gallant father when only three years of age), passed much of my time at the "Hermitage," three or four miles away. During my absence at West Point, Harney was appointed a Second Lieutenant in the 1st regiment of infantry, and a year after my graduation at the Military Academy, in 1821, I found him at Baton Rouge.

As the last paragraph of your letter seems to have reference to *myself*, I will remark that I was born at Tellico, a military station on Hiawassee River, in East Tennessee, then commanded by my father, on the 22nd of February, 1800.

My grandfather, Thomas Butler, an officer in the British army, having been implicated in revolutionary movements in Ireland, resigned and removed with his wife and three sons (Richard, William and Thomas), to Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, in 1748, where Pierce and Edward, the other two of "the five Revolutionary Butler Brothers," as they were termed, were born. They were Major General Richard, commander of the "Rifles" during the Revolution, and killed at "St. Clair's Defeat," 4th November, 1791; and Colonels William, Thomas, Pierce and Edward, the latter Adjutant General of *the Army*, in 1796, under Major General Wayne, and my father.

My grandfather was descended from the "Danboyne" branch of the Irish Butlers, originally Fitzwalters, from Normandy; in addition to which those are now extant, the Houses of Onuoude, Carrick, Lanesboro, St. Mountgaust, and others extinct or in abeyance. My mother was Isabella Fowler, daughter of George Fowler, Captain of British Grenadiers, who led the British "Forlorn Hope" at Bunker Hill, for which "desperate gallantry" Major General Sir Richard Pigott presented him on the field the Grenadier's Cap, now in my possession, of crimson velvet, with the British Crown and Royal Cipher C. R.; the white Saxon horse, and motto of the Royal Hauddecaa Guelphic Order: "*nec aspera terrant.*" The extract from General Lullane's "History of the West Point Graduates" will give you an idea of my military record, and my civil one covers too much space for your present purpose; but, being written

out, you may possibly think it worth your notice in future. Were you to see the letters now on my table, and in my trunks and drawers, you would imagine it would confuse a nearly blind man to attempt to quote from them.

My gifted and illustrious wife, who died at Pass Christain, Mississippi, June 30th, 1875, was born at Mount Vernon, November 27, 1799, seventeen days before the death of Washington. Her father, Lawrence Lewis, was the son of the General's only sister, Elizabeth, who married Fielding Lewis; and her mother, Eleanor Parke Custis, was the daughter of John Parke Custis, son of Mrs. Washington, by the first husband, Daniel Parke Custis; and her mother was Jul'a Calvert, granddaughter of Lord Baltimore.

When she died, Mrs. Butler was the nearest living relative of Washington, and in common with Mrs. Commodore Newman and George Washington Peter, of Maryland, she was the nearest living relative of Mrs. Washington. A most remarkable pedigree!

My noble and beautiful daughter died in New Orleans, September 16, 1876, leaving me alone with my only living son and child, Major Lawrence Lewis Butler, of this place.

God has dealt harshly with me; but a distinguished friend writes to me: "I envy you, my dear sir, your cheerful fortitude and the brave unconcern with which you face all the batteries of life."

With best wishes, Faithfully yours,

E. G. W. BUTLER.

L. U. Reavis, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.

General Harney also counts among his warm and life-long friends, Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines, a modern Minerva. The records of the United States Supreme Court bear conspicuous evidence of her pertinacity, perseverance, and ability, while her feminine delicacy and generosity, and the unostentatious contribution of charities, add lustre to her personal excellences. She is in truth a historic woman; the daughter of Daniel Clark, an Irish nobleman, who came to this country in the latter part of the last century. She was born in 1807, in New Orleans. Her last marriage was to General Gaines, a warm personal friend of General Harney. General Gaines possessed the highest excellencies of a friend and a husband, and deeply sympathizing with Miss Myra Clark, in her efforts to get possession of her father's property, a marriage was consummated, and General Gaines placed $100,000 at her disposal to prosecute her claims and establish her title to her father's estates.

Of the many noted Indian chiefs known and esteemed by General Harney, in years gone by, Osceola and Keokuk were most admired by him. He regarded Osceola as a gallant, daring, scheming, able and efficient leader, one worthy to be an opponent. This was an estimate of Osceola quite different to that usually made by writers.

Keokuk was, in the highest degree, a fine specimen of physical and intellectual manhood, and General Harney relates with pleasure that he was the best dancer ever known among the Indians of his day, and could only be equaled in the dance by himself. He was also companionable in his associations, and was not behind in contributing his share of fun when in company. Keokuk was fond of relating, as one of his best, a story of a tribe of Indians found at one time when on a war chase. He said they never ate. Keokuk would tell to his hungry auditors that this tribe would cook thin victuals and then stand over and smell them till their hunger was gone.

INCIDENTS AND PERILS.

An interesting phase of General Harney's life is well illustrated by anecdotes and perils, a few of which have been gathered.

Beginning in 1850, the citizens of Texas, particularly the new settlers, were troubled, harassed and suffered a considerable loss of property, stock, etc., by the incursions and raids of predatory, thieving bands of Indians, principally the Tonquas, L'ipans and northern Comanches. These tribes were noted thieves, and stole and drove off on every possible occasion large numbers of horses, mules, etc. These thefts having been brought officially to the notice of General Harney, then Colonel of the 2d regiment United States dragoons and Brevet Brigadier General United States army, commanding the Department of Texas, he gave orders for the organization of several expeditions, the first of which was against the Tonquas, which went out in the latter part of 1850, under the command of Major

Sibley, 2d dragoons. The command consisted of detachments from three companies of dragoons and one company of mounted rifles, now the 3d U. S. cavalry. This command encountered a large force, gave them a severe licking, killing four and wounding several, and recovered two hundred and forty stolen animals, which were returned to the owners whenever found. In this engagement Lieutenant Arthur D. Tree, 2d dragoons, was slightly wounded; one private of Company I, 2d dragoons, was killed by being thrown from his horse in the charge down the ravine upon the Indians. A large number of silver-mounted bridles were found concealed under the blankets worn by the squaws captured, for which the owners could not be found. It was supposed that these bridles were stolen in Mexico, or near the Mexican border.

In the latter part of 1850, and early in 1851, several smaller expeditions and scouting parties were sent out by General Harney, which succeeded in taking several prisoners (afterwards released), and securing considerable stolen property.

In the spring of 1851, quite a large expedition, comprising two companies, A and G, 2d dragoons, and a company of infantry mounted, went out after the Tonquas. Major Arnold was detailed for command, but being sick and unable to go, Lieutenant R. I. Dodge, of the infantry, took command. After a rapid pursuit of nine days, the Indians were overtaken, and an engagement ensued, in which three were killed, several wounded and taken prisoners; over two hundred horses and ponies, including ten or twelve pack mules, were captured. The casualties of Lieutenant Dodge's command were two men wounded, and a Delaware Indian guide killed.

Later in 1851, a large expedition was sent out by order of General Harney, composed of several detachments of cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant W. B. Hazen, of the infantry (now Colonel and Brevet Major-General U. S. A.)

This force, after a long march, encountered the Lipans near the Nueces River, and a running fight ensued for several miles. Three warriors were killed and several wounded. Lieutenant Hazen was severely wounded, and had three men wounded, one of whom died subsequently at Fort Mason, Texas. He was shot in the breast with a flint arrow. Over three hundred animals were captured. In those days the Indians did not use rifles and ball cartridges, which accounts for so few casualties among the troops.

Numerous small expeditions and scouting parties were, by orders of General Harney, sent out from Forts Mason, Chadbourne, McKarett, Terrett, Belknap, and other posts, whenever Indian depredations were reported, from 1851 to 1853, which met the Indians in small bodies, and from whom was taken the animals found in their possession.

In the summer of 1854, a large expedition was sent out by General Harney to find the northern Comanches who were reported in force on the North Fork of the Canadian River, in the Wichita Mountains, Texas. This expedition comprised all the available forces of the 2d dragoons, General Harney's regiment, stationed at Forts Mason, Terrett, McKarett, Chadbourne, and Belknap, in all about three hundred men, and a battery of mountain howitzers, manned by a detachment of said regiment. Captain W. I. Newton started in command, but at Fort Terrett he went on the sick report, when Captain Patrick Calhoun (son of Hon. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina,) assumed command. He was a brave and gallant officer and was eager for a fight. Captain Calhoun's command did not find the Comanches in as large force as was expected, but found a large camp of a few Indians guarding about three hundred animals; these were captured.

Scouting parties were sent out frequently after this along the Llano, Nueces, Salado, and other rivers where the Indians congregated up to 1855, when the regiment left the State for Kansas and the Ash Hollow and Sioux

expedition, at which time Indian raids and depredations were almost entirely suppressed, and the citizens of the State had a long immunity from thefts and disorders.

The punishment of the numerous tribes in Texas and the recovery of the large number of stolen animals, remanded to the possession of their owners when found, was due in the largest measure to the zeal, energy, and promptness of General Harney, as commander of the Department of Texas. While he was stationed there he had the confidence and high regard of the citizens of the State, who felt safe and secure while he was in command. "Harney and his dragoons" were the terror of the red devils, who soon found out the sort of a man they had to deal with.

As an evidence of the appreciation by the citizens of his administration of military affairs, the authorities of San Antonio thanked him officially, and presented Lieutenant Hazen (for gallantry in the Lipan fight) with a fine sword. From this time the State began to increase wonderfully in population and importance.

Up to 1857 there was an old sergeant in the 2d dragoons named Koconski. He had been 1st sergeant of General Harney's company when he was a Captain, and served with him in the Florida war. Koconski had served a long time and was very fond of his toddy, and frequently getting tight, he was reduced to the ranks by the Captain of his company, Captain W. I. Newton. On an occasion when a number of privates were required to go on the General's escort, Koconski was one of the number so detailed. When he appeared at Austin before the General, the latter asked him:

"Is not that sergeant Koconski?"

"I was sergeant Koconski, sir, but the Captain, Newton, reduced me to the ranks."

"What for?" asked the General.

"For getting drunk, sir," he replied.

"Well," said the General, "you go back and tell Captain

Newton to restore you as a sergeant. A man who has served as long as you have and done as good service as you have, can drink as much as he wants in my regiment."

Koconski, upon returning to his company, put on his sergeant's chevrons. When Captain Newton saw him he asked him what he was doing with a sergeant's chevrons on after having been reduced to the ranks. He replied:

"A d—d sight better man than you told me to put them on, sir. The General, Harney, told me to put them on, sir."

Koconski was not disturbed after that.

On one occasion, when General Harney was mustering the companies of the regiment, he came to Company "G," to which Koconski belonged. The first sergeant being sick, it devolved upon Sergeant Koconski, the senior duty sergeant, to call the roll. While doing so, the old man's mind seemed to wander, and he began calling a number of names that no one present ever heard of before. The General observing him intensely, and recognizing the names as those belonging to his company in the Florida war, said, "Hold on, sergeant, the men whose names you are calling were all killed in the Florida war. They are all dead and buried years and years ago." "Captain," said he, turning to Captain Newton, "don't let that man do any more duty. He has soldiered long enough. He has had his day. Let him rest; let him rest!"

At Fort Mason, Texas, in 1851, Dr. Steiner, Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in a personal altercation, shot and killed Captain and Brevet Major Ripley A. Arnold. To avoid arrest and a trial by court martial, Steiner left the post and went to Waco Village, as it was then designated. General Harney, in order to have Steiner court martialed, sent a detachment of his regiment, under command of Lieutenant Richard H. Anderson (afterwards Major General in the Confederate army), to arrest Steiner. Steiner's friends, in great force, with rifles, shot-guns and pistols, assembled at

his house and swore he should not be taken. Anderson, with his small force, and himself not liking the job, failed to arrest Steiner. When General Harney heard of Anderson's failure, he swore he would have Steiner, and proposed to go himself, with his entire regiment, if he could not be taken otherwise. Before any preparations were made for a second attempt to secure Steiner, he fled from Waco, and could not be found. General Harney did not like Anderson's action in the matter, and never had a good opinion of him afterwards.

While at Austin, at the headquarters, in 1852, General Harney had as his orderly a chief bugler of the regiment, named Fieldstroop. The General, early one morning, found Fieldstroop in his garden, with his shot-gun, engaged in shooting his (the General's) fine chickens. These were of fine breed and very valuable. Looking at Fieldstroop and a dead chicken just shot, the General called to him:

"What are you doing shooting my chickens?" said the General. "Is that the way you do after I have given you a shot-gun and bought you ammunition to kill game, you kill my fine poultry?"

"I didn't know they belonged to you, General," said F.

"Very well," said the General, "go and take off those chevrons," referring to the ensignia of rank of the chief bugler (sergeant of the band).

"But, General, I did not intend—"

"Go and take them off," thundered the General, and poor Fieldstroop was reduced to the ranks without ceremony.

The next day the General encountered Eugene Pullen, a private of "G" company, on the detail of the General's escort.

"Pullen," said he, "can you blow a bugle?"

"No, General," said Pullen.

"Can you blow a penny whistle?—can you blow anything?"

"Yes, sir," said Pullen, "I can blow a whistle."

"Then," said the General, "I make you my chief bugler," and Pullen was promoted.

General Harney, on a certain occasion, said something to a teamster, which he thought was rather personal, and replied to the General that he was as good a man as he was. "Very well," replied the General, "we will test that proposition;" and they began to "go for each other." Both being powerful men, capable of giving and receiving sturdy blows, it was rather a drawn battle. The teamster was, however, pretty roughly handled. After they got through the teamster said the General was a hard customer to handle. The General told him "he was a pretty good man after all."

In 1852, while in command in Texas, General Harney procured for his regiment a fine quality of Mexican sombreros (wide-brimmed hats) as a protection against the hot sun. One day, in San Antonio, he accosted a citizen having on his head one of the hats issued to the 2d dragoons.

"Where did you get that hat?" asked the General.

"I bought it from a store," replied the citizen.

"No, sir," said the General; "those hats belong to the 2d dragoons, my regiment, and the men don't sell them. That hat belongs to my regiment, and if you don't return it I will have you arrested for theft." The hat was turned over.

On one occasion when a detachment of his regiment was going into a fight, they were ordered to throw away the old, cumbersome musketoons. The men afterwards found them *charged to them on the pay roll*, but General Harney ordered that they should be condemned, and that the men should not be compelled to pay for them.

By order of the Secretary of War, General Harney was directed, in 1851, to test the merits of meat biscuit, a sort of compound which, as stated by the inventor, was

a substitute for both meat and bread. It was supposed that on account of its compressed condition large quantities could be transported, sufficient for a command on long expeditions. General Harney selected a number of officers to go on a march and bake nothing to eat but the meat biscuit, in order that its merits might be fully tested. They were positively instructed to draw no rations of any kind from the commissary but the "biscuit," which instructions were carried out to the letter. After a scout and march of ten days the officers and men returned to camp with a very poor opinion of the meat biscuit. It is sufficient to state that the biscuit was heard of no more in the army. The officers did not like the General's order restricting them from other diet, but they obeyed and came in from the trip in a lean, hungry condition.

The life of the soldier upon the frontier is full of privations and perils, and what is still harder to be borne at times, a long monotony. Too many of the officers of the army fall into dissipation from the very lack of something to employ them, but in General Harney's case, his associates all bear witness to his wonderful activity and to his abstemiousness. His love of adventure and his habit of exploration led him into many perils and many exploits which a more reserved or a less energetic man would have avoided.

While in Florida, he on one occasion received information that the Indians were in force some distance down the coast, and supposing their numbers to be small, he ordered out boats, and with fifty-four picked men started on an expedition down the Matanzas River. This was in September, about the time of the equinoxial storm, and he had only proceeded some twenty miles to a point called the "Haul Over," which was a narrow portage between the Indian River and the New Smyrna, when the storm came and compelled him to lay up with his party. This delay exhausted their supplies, and they were driven to return to

St. Augustine for more rations. When he started he took all the men the boats would carry, and supposed that there were only some two or three hundred of the Indians. In that case he would have had an adequate force, but after his return he learned that there were several thousand, and if the expedition had not been turned back an attack by so small a party would have been extremely disastrous, and perhaps resulted in the killing of the whole party.

On the return it was necessary to move, for some fifteen or twenty miles, in the ocean to get to the mouth of the Smyrna river. The wind shifted from the east to the west, and, the tide running out, made a strong current off shore and increased the hazard. Colonel Harney's boat was in the advance and it was only when the danger was fully encountered that it was apparent. In the rough water it was equally as hazardous to attempt to return as to advance. While struggling against wind and tide in a heavy sea, the boat capsized. Colonel Harney told the men to hang to the boat; but few of them were able to do so, and only three were eventually saved. Only one clung to the boat. Harney himself became entangled in a rope, and sank when the boat went over, but on extricating himself he came to the surface and saw the boat some thirty yards distant. He was already much exhausted, and a barrel of hard-tack drifting near him, he seized and clung to it. The men in the other boats witnessed the disaster from the mouth of the river, but could render no assistance. Harney was blown entirely out of sight and was supposed by his comrades to be lost. Still he clung to his barrel of hard-tack, which was to him a veritable "staff of life." He had been in the water over an hour, when he felt himself exhausted and was despairing, feeling all the bitterness of the brave man whose life was that of contention upon the land, and who was now about to be swallowed up by the sea.

In this situation the words of Solomon went through his

mind: "Bone for bone, and skin for skin. Yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." But the fates had offered him no alternative. He said his prayers, and with the madness of despair and exhaustion pushed the barrel from him and resigned himself to the sea. To his surprise his foot struck the bottom before his head went under, and hope revived in his breast. He was a good swimmer, and he now had an incentive to exertion. After a long struggle, which tested even his wonderful powers of endurance, he reached the shore and carried joy to the hearts of his comrades, after having been in the water for an hour and three-quarters.

Another watery peril was encountered at Cape May, where he had gone with his family to have some recreation at a time when his children were at school at St. Mary's convent in Maryland. While there a party, consisting of himself, Miss Niles, daughter of the veteran editor of *Niles' Register*, a Mr. Ayers of Philadelphia, and Miss Taylor, niece of General Taylor, were bathing. They advanced some distance from the shore, all being ignorant of the nature of the bottom. General Harney, accompanied by Miss Niles, suddenly entered deep water. Feeling himself careened over by the buoyancy of the water, he seized Miss Niles, and holding her at arm's length above the water, so increased his own weight as to gain a firm foothold and walk back with her, at the same time warning the others. It was only when all were safe that the ladies learned of the great danger they had escaped. This incident well illustrates his presence of mind and prompt action in danger.

In the military life of General Harney he has not only fulfilled all the specified and well-defined duties of his position, but he has in many instances gone beyond the ordinary requirements to promote the interests of the people among whom he has been stationed. His good deeds have been impressed upon every community wherever his duty

has called him, and he is remembered with pride and gratitude. His benevolences have been large, and the subjects for their exercise well chosen.

As a soldier, proud of his duty, and enthusiastic in its discharge, he was tenacious of the privileges and honors that he felt he had fairly won. The following communication, addressed to General Scott, recounts with clearness his services up to that period, and gives point to the position of affairs at that time:

AUSTIN, TEXAS, August 1, 1852.

GENERAL:

It is one of the most invaluable privileges of every person under the protection of the laws of the United States, whether he is connected with the Government by the ties of official relation or a simple citizen, whenever he deems himself the subject of any public grievance, to present a firm but respectful petition to the proper authority for a redress of his wrongs.

I trust that it will not be thought that I am presumptuous when I say that such is now my lot. After a faithful, and I am sure I may assert without being reproached with egotism, a useful and intelligent service, extending over a term of thirty-five years—commencing in my boyhood and reaching beyond the climacteric point of life; after having passed through every grade from the lowest known in our army organization, to the command of a cavalry regiment, with the brevet of a General officer, I find myself assigned, by a late order from the Headquarters of the Eighth Military Department, to a post to be garrisoned by one company of dragoons, and the necessary attaches of the headquarters of a regiment. What command will I have at this post? The *paper command* of my regiment and of a garrison of a single company!

I do not mention this matter in a tone of complaint of the present distinguished commander of the Eighth Military Department.

He is a soldier of the highest merit, and a gentleman of exalted and varied accomplishments, adorned by the grace of simple, urbane and unaffected manners.

Under the limitations placed around him by higher authority, he was compelled to assign me to some of the frontier posts, the garrison of no one of which could exceed two companies. It was a matter of indifference so far as command was involved, whether I went to a post occupied by one or two companies, and hence the order was shaped, on other accounts, so as to place me at a one company post.

I respectfully ask whether this is a proper renumeration for the length of time I have served my country, the character of the services I have rendered it, or a fit and proper command for an officer of the grade which I attained in its army? The answer to this question, I am constrained to believe, would be given in the negative by every well-informed and unbiased man.

As I have more than once referred to my military services, I will, that it may

be seen that I do not exaggerate their importance, present a brief outline of my military life for the past sixteen years. I do not deem it necessary to go back to the long years of patient toil which I passed in the frozen and trackless wilds of the northwest, surrounded by thousands of warlike savages; nor to refer to the arduous and trying duty which fell to the active participants in the Indian troubles of 1831 and 1832—a season when an insiduous pestilence environed the troops with dangers a thousand fold more appalling than all the casualties of undisciplined warfare, and before whose awful violence the stoutest all over the land fell an easy prey, and many of the bravest hearts quailed.

I could have the history of my service from 1818 to 1836 read without any fear that it would bring discredit on me; but it is not necessary for the purpose for which I write this paper to recur to a period so remote.

In the summer of 1836, the regiment of which I have the honor to be at the head, was formed, and in August of the same year, I was appointed its Lieutenant Colonel. I applied immediately to be ordered to Florida, the scene of active hostilities, which request was granted.

Without detailing minutely all the incidents of my six years' service in the Florida War, I will remark generally, that I was actively engaged, with the exception of two intervals, from 1836 to 1842. The absences were necessary to restore my health, which had been destroyed by fever brought on by exposure to the miasmas of the hammocks.

From the moment of my entrance into Florida to the day of my departure, I was active in season and out of season in the cause of my country. No call ever reached me in the whole of that space—whether it came at midday or midnight—whether it was to scour the everglades at the head of small and inadequate commands, or to explore the dark, sinuous streams, whose basky shores were the safe hiding place for the Seminole armed with his unerring rifle, to which I did not yield willing and instant obedience. When a summons to move came to me, I staid not to count numbers or to reckon consequences. I only remembered that my country demanded my exertions, and that my duty was prompt obedience.

Blessed by nature with far more than ordinary health and strength, I was enabled to perform almost Herculean labors. My long service among the Northwestern Indians had given me a knowledge of their habits and of woodcraft which was invaluable.

As a necessary consequence of such a course, I was engaged in more affairs with the enemy, marched over a greater number of miles, explored more unknown country, was instrumental in capturing more prisoners, and was exposed to more personal hardships and dangers than any other officer engaged in the war.

The conflicts at Fort Mellon, Jupiter, the "Hunting Grounds," the various skirmishes in the Everglades, the perilous and laborious expeditions I made through them, the dangerous explorations I performed of unknown streams and lakes to gain information for the movements of the army, attest the truth of this broad and apparently self-eulogistic assertion. A true history of the Florida War would sustain the declaration, and I therefore do not hesitate to make it.

Notwithstanding the service which I performed in Florida, at the close of the war, officers who had not done one-fourth of the duty I had, were brevetted, some even received two brevets, and others, who had not even heard a bullet during the war, received one brevet.

At the close of the war my regiment left Florida for duty on the Western frontier. I joined a portion of it in that region shortly afterwards, and remained with it until the successful termination of the treaty for the annexation of Texas required our arms in the newly gained territory. I was posted for several months after my arrival in Texas, at San Antonio, in charge of the Indian frontier. Anterior to the declaration of war with Mexico, but when hostilities with that republic were inevitable, I made various applications to General Taylor to be permitted to join him; these applications were, however, refused on the ground that my services were necessary in the position I then occupied.

I come now to speak of a transaction which has been much misunderstood by my military seniors, and which has therefore been the cause of serious injury to me. I refer to the call I made for volunteers in the summer of 1846, for the defence of the country against the invasion of Mexican troops, believed to be assembled in Mexico in the vicinity of Presidio de Rio Grande. This place is on the Rio Grande, nearly due west from San Antonio, and is the point at which a force destined against the latter, Austin, and other towns in the same region of Texas, would most probably cross the river; many rumors had reached me, all bearing concurrent testimony to the assemblage of a military force on the Rio Grande, for the invasion of the district of country with whose defence I was specially charged. I, however, did not repose entire confidence in such reports, but, to be assured of the truth, despatched two special messengers, said to be the most reliable men in the country, to Presidio de Rio Grande. These spies returned, bringing me information that all the approaches to the river, even the very cow-paths, were guarded, and the opposite bank was bristling with troops. Being thus assured of the correctness of the rumors which had been received, it was plainly my duty to prepare for the defence of the country. I had under my immediate command three skeleton companies of dragoons, a force entirely inadequate to meet the coming danger. No alternative was left me but a resort to the militia of the State, and for assistance from this force I appealed and received it.

I marched toward the Rio Grande with my entire command, first, to prevent the enemy from crossing the river, if he had not done it, or secondly, if he had, to meet him in the wild and uninhabited country which is found eighty or ninety miles west of San Antonio. I was resolved to prevent, if possible, any Mexican forces from penetrating into the cultivated reigons commencing on the beautiful streams some twenty-five miles west of San Antonio, and extending eastward to the Sabine. Had he been permitted to reach this district he could have drawn supplies from our very soil. My heart would have been scorched with shame if I had beheld the footsteps of invasion blighting so fair a portion of my country, with whose protection I was specially charged. It may seem absurd now to speak of invasion by a Mexican army or to fear the consequences which might ensue from it. They were then, however, an almost unknown and untried foe, and in proportion as unknown and untried, were respected.

I reported all these things to General Taylor, the senior officer in the field, explaining fully the cause of my movements on the Rio Grande. As I did not receive any acknowledgment from General Taylor of the reception of my report, and as I have never seen it among the published documents relating to the Mexican War, I am constrained to believe that the officer through whom I was compelled to transmit it, suppressed it. He is, hence, chargeable with all the misapprehensions and wrong which I have suffered from not having my motives and conduct in that whole transaction properly understood.

By him I was stricken from the command, arrested and disgraced in presence of the troops, and this, too, for having been too zealous in the performance of what I conceived to be my duty.

I was not long detained in arrest, being released in a few days thereafter. This, however, did not remove the sting which had been planted in my bosom, by the attempt to insult and humiliate me in the presence of my command.

I was finally permitted to enter Mexico, and after a long and arduous march, checkered by various vicissitudes, I found the army assembled at the mouth of the Rio Grande, with a view to the invasion of Mexico through Vera Cruz.

I am now arrived at the initial point of events of so recent occurrence, and involving so many personal feelings and unsettled points, that I would fain here close this communication.

But justice to myself requires that I should continue the narrative yet a little further; I will, however, be as concise as possible, and treat only of matters about which, I fancy, there can be no difference of opinion.

During the investment of Vera Cruz, the action at Madellin was fought and won. You doubtlessly remember, General, that this was done entirely at my solicitation, and that I planned and directed the entire fight from beginning to end.

Whatever of credit is due, therefore, for this achievement is justly mine.

It does not become me to discuss the merits or enhance the importance of my actions, and I leave it to you and my associates to vindicate the truth of an assertion which I will now hazard. I assert that no separate, independent action was fought during the whole of the Mexican War, with equal importance with that of Madellin, for which the senior officer present has not received, if of the regular army, a brevet commission. In support of this assertion, I will remark that every officer under me, with some two exceptions, was brevetted for their participation in the action.

I do not think it is just to make an exception of me.

Next in order followed the battle of Cerro Gordo. Here modesty compels me to be silent.

In due time the army was organized in Puebla for the march into the valley of Mexico, and in the assignment of command I was placed at the head of the cavalry brigade.

It is true, that from the nature of the operations in the valley, the cavalry was not permitted to effect any brilliant achievement.

I venture to say, however, without fear of successful contradiction, that no force in the army was so uniformly active, so generally ready for all descriptions of duty, or so entirely useful as the cavalry. This force constituted the

great prehensile power of the army, by which all its supplies were obtained, and without which all movements would have been impossible.

With these remarks on the services of the troops which I commanded in the operations around the capitol of Mexico, I take leave of the little army, whose bright exploits on that stage will live forever in memory, comfortably quartered in this city.

Since the close of the war, has followed the dispensation of rewards and favors and the assignments to command.

In casting about me to see what I have received and how I stand in relation to others near me in rank, I find that I am ranked lineally and brevet by those who have not seen half the service that I have; and by brevet by some who are my lineal juniors. Furthermore, these juniors have received commands corresponding to their brevet grades, while there seems to have been a studied intention to deprive me of such positions and advantages as Fortune or the accidents of the service have thrown in my path.

Those above and below me have been advanced, while I seem to have occupied an unfortunate middle ground on which no genial showers of favor have fallen.

Believe me, General, I do not mention these facts to reproach you, as I am sure you have had no part nor lot in them. I am confident you desire to see full, ample, and even-handed justice dispensed to every officer of the army, and that you are ever ready to exert your influence for the accomplishment of this end.

My object in laying this paper before you, is to request your assistance, as the head of the army, in remedying the grievance of which I complain.

I am, General, most respectfully your obedient servant,

[signed.] WILLIAM S. HARNEY,
Colonel Second Dragoons, &c.

MAJOR GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT,
Commander-in-Chief U. S. A., Washington City, D. C.

NOTE.—In speaking of my services in Florida, I have attributed great importance to the many difficult reconnoissances I made. The great value of a successful exploration in Indian warfare can only be properly understood by those well-instructed in the habits of the savages. It is often more difficult to find them, than to beat them after they are found. Hence, the officer who can discover the hiding places of a savage enemy, and can happily conduct his own troops to them, is often more useful than he who exercises the chief command.

I will add in regard to my participation in the operations in the valley of Mexico, that, although I was prevented by the nature of the ground or from the limited extent of the cavalry force, from accomplishing anything brilliant, I was under fire in every battle fought in the valley except Chapultepec.

So broken up was the cavalry brigade by detachments being drawn from it for various purposes, that I absolutely commenced the pursuit of the Mexican army at Churubusco with a corporal and six men.

In vindication of the military services of General Harney in the Florida war, the following letter from General Jesup to the Hon. Lewis F. Linn, United States Senator from Missouri, is one of the many and well deserving fugitive testimonials to the honor and valor of this gallant soldier, that have been showered upon his name through his long life:

WASHINGTON CITY, August 29th, 1842.

SIR: In reply to your note requesting information in regard to the merits and services of Colonel Harney in the Florida war, I have the honor to state that the Colonel joined the army under my command in January, 1837. He was in the battle of Fort Mellon in February of that year, where Colonel Fanning and himself, with less than three hundred men, defeated upwards of four hundred Indian warriors. In the summer and autumn of 1837, except during a short leave of absence, he was constantly and actively engaged in the most useful service. During that summer and autumn, though my force was small and the Indian force comparatively large, hardly a single depredation was allowed to be committed upon the inhabitants of the country—there were no Indian cornfields cut up by the troops that season, it is true, for so active and energetic were their operations that not a stalk of corn was allowed to grow anywhere but on the farms of citizens—if we could not catch the Indians we kept them constantly running and distant from the frontier.

In the campaign of 1837-8, Colonel Harney was most active and distinguished. He and an officer of my staff, Major Searle, in separate boats, propelled by poles and oars, explored the river St. John to the highest point of boat navigation, through a hostile country, where they were every moment liable to attack. The success of the campaign was believed to depend upon the performance of that service, and hazardous as it was, it was to be performed. It could not have been confided to better hands, nor have been more ably and gallantly executed. The battle of Locha Hatchee, fought about the last of January, 1838, by the troops under my immediate command, and the Indians under their chiefs, Toskegee and Halleck Hadjo, was the last battle in Florida where the enemy appeared in large force—all the affairs since have been skirmishes with little parties of from five to twenty-five, or perhaps in one instance thirty warriors. That battle was as decisive as any other in our whole Indian history—it resulted in an arrangement with the Indians by which upwards of twelve hundred, including negroes, surrendered, of whom near four hundred were warriors—equal to all that has been accomplished from that time to this moment. In that battle, as well as in the events which followed, Colonel Harney bore a most prominent and distinguished part. At the head of a portion of his battalion he was the first to cross the river under the fire of the enemy, and had he been immediately supported, results which it required several weeks to accomplish would doubtless have been immediate; but at the moment when about to enter and cross the river myself, at the head of a body of Tennessee volunteers, I received a shot under the left eye, which produced

for the moment almost total blindness, and threw me out of action for more than half an hour. The consequence was, the enemy, though completely beaten, was not pursued. Colonel Harney was soon after sent into the everglades in pursuit of Sam Jones and Chekeka and their party. He came up with them, fought and beat them, and I am confident would, in less than a month, have captured or destroyed them; but I received orders to send his corps out of Florida, and was obliged to recall him. I was about that time recalled myself. The subsequent services of Colonel Harney are known to the country. The destruction of Chekeka's band in the everglades was one of the most important blows that has been struck since I left Florida. That was effected by the persevering energy of Colonel Harney alone. View his whole services, from their commencement to their termination, and they will compare advantageously with those of any other officer who has served in Florida at any time; and if justice be done he will receive as high reward as any other. I may have been thought remiss in not having placed more prominently before the country the gallant and meritorious services of the officers who were associated with me. It was my intention to do justice to all; and on my return I presented a condensed report of my operations, intending to follow it by a report in minute detail. But I soon discovered that I had been denounced and my acts misrepresented in my absence, not only by a profligate press, but by demagogues still more profligate, who, skulking behind the ramparts of privilege, had fulminated slanders and misrepresentations against me which they would not have dared even to whisper had they not been shielded by the broad curtain of the Constitution. False issues had been made, and the public deceived in regard to my measures. The country was in the highest state of political excitement in consequence of the canvass then going on for the Presidency. My condensed report was not published in more than half a dozen papers, and was read only by my personal friends, though the army under my command had killed and captured more Indians than the armies of Wayne and Harrison in all their Indian campaigns. I was convinced the time had not come when truth would be listened to—and knowing that I had performed my duty not only faithfully but efficiently, and relying with perfect confidence on the ultimate justice of my countrymen, I determined to wait a more propitious time. The proper time I believe has nearly arrived—the war is said to be closed—honors are showered upon some of the actors, whilst most of those who served with *me* have been overlooked. With more difficulties to surmount than all the other commanders together, it was my fortune to kill and capture during the few months of my command about double as many Indians and negroes as all who preceded me and all who have succeeded me up to this hour. Yet so far as I am concerned personally, I hold in absolute contempt all honor derived from Indian warfare; but the gallant men who served with me are entitled to the benefit of the whole truth, and it shall be my business, so soon as my official engagements will permit, to place it before the Government and the country.

I have the honor, &c., &c., most respectfully, &c., &c.,

[Signed] THOS. S. JESUP,
Major-General United States Army.

The Hon. L. F. Linn,
Senate of the United States, Washington City.

In concluding, I am led to say that I am a believer in great men—a hero worshiper if you will; still I reverence those who have made a fame among the world's people through the exercise of great qualities; those who, like towering columns, lift themselves above the level upon which the mass of men stand. Whether this distinction be won upon the battle-field or in the civic strife of legislative halls; whether by the man of action or the man of reflection; in the exhibition of the strong arm of power or in statesmanlike laws for the directing and governing of the people—I hold it to be admirable and worthy of emulation.

Patriotism, heroism and humanity constitute the trinity of attributes that make public life a fraternity. Without the influence of these attributes the pious would doubt the favor of God and the spirit of Cain pervade the world. Of the many illustrious men whom I have met and admired, there have been but few that I have fully trusted and loved; but few for whom I have felt the attractiveness of intimacy and friendship. These I name: Richard Yates, Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner and General William Selby Harney, all names familiar to American history. I knew Richard Yates for a longer period than any of the others, and God in his bounty never more richly endowed any man with the chief of the elements of character that distinguish men in social and public life. Greeley and Sumner were my friends. I admired them for purity of life, for correctness of thought and teaching, and for their masterful genius and ability. My acquaintance with General Harney is of more recent date, of but few years' standing. In him I have found a friend, and have never met a man of more distinguished bearing, of more dignified and courteous address, or a soldier whose record is so full of all that is interesting and all that is noble and unselfish. General Harney sprang from a line to which belongs heroic blood. He has defended his country and my country as most other men could not. He has periled his life to pro-

mote the civilization and progress of the people. He has that generous and sympathizing heart, that clear judgment, and that promptitude of action that would distinguish him in any station in life. He is a born leader, one of nature's captains, whose tall plume was always to be seen in front of the battle, and with all those elements of manhood which, in earlier days, produced the patriarch, who combined the functions of the warrior, the legislator and the ruler.

General Harney has met the foes of his country, civilized and uncivilized, and none have stood before his onset. He has made laws for savage tribes, and governed them with justice and moderation; he has entered the province of diplomacy when diplomates were wanting, and has reached a ready solution of vexing questions; he has often judicially interpreted the instructions and laws under which he was acting, and always with advantage to the soldiers and civilians who came within the scope of his action. Many nice questions frequently came before him for adjustment, and it was only by clear insight into the motives of men and by practical and not theoretical principles that he reached substantial justice. Through intrigue and jealousy his own purity of motives and generous spirit found a safe pathway for his own line of duty, and he steadily pursued it. In the military annals of the country he has a name which no detraction can reach. He has achieved a reputation which no amount of envy or malice can possibly tarnish. He may well be content. His record is secure; his motives cannot be questioned. A kindly, impetuous and intrepid spirit, America has sheltered no nobler nor more unselfish heart, no character more worthy of her lasting honor.

THE END.

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